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THE COURT OF LONDON

FROM 1819 TO 1825:

WITH SUBSEQUENT OCC .IONAL PRODUCTIONS, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED IN EUROPE,

BY

RICHARD RUSH,

MINISTER FROM THE UNITED STATES FROM 1817 TO 1825.

EDITED, WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES, BY HIS SON,

BENJAMIN RUSH,

U.S. SECRETARY OF LEGATION AT LONDON FROM 1837 TO 1841.

With an Alphabetical Index.

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LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON.
1873.

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TO

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, ESQ.,

LATE MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE COURT OF LONDON.

DEAR MR. ADAMS,

The same considerations which on a late occasion prompted me to a like step, induce me now, equally without your knowledge, to ask permission to dedicate to you this republication of my Father's Recollections of the English Mission, from 1819 to 1825.

You and he equally sought, at periods widely apart, to cultivate and preserve the best relations between the United States and England. Each, during an unusually long residence at the British Court, was successful in that great object. But to you remains the further and high satisfaction of having largely contributed, as a Member of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, to the final and satisfactory adjustment of a long-pending contro-

versy, which threatened at one time to disturb those relations. Your wisdom, enlarged patriotism, and weight of influence, first in aiding to remove the chief obstacle to, and afterwards in mainly assisting to accomplish, a happy result, have been admitted by the leaders of opinion in both countries.

Such a Tribunal was novel in the history of the World. Its successful inauguration is more to the praise, and redounds more to the glory, of these two great English-speaking nations, than the triumph of arms. To the Representatives of each, on the solemn and auspicious occasion, belongs their share of the honour.

In the feelings of hereditary friendship to which you have gracefully referred, continued "for three generations,"

I pray you to believe me,

Dear Mr. Adams,

Very sincerely yours,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

ST. JAMES'S HOTEL, PICCADILLY,
April 7, 1873.

EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

A REPUBLICATION of the first year of the Author's Residence to 1819, appeared in London in June last, having been originally published in Philadelphia and in London in 1833. There having been a frequent demand recently for the continuation of the Author's Residence at the Court of London from 1819 to 1825, first published nearly thirty years ago, a Third Edition is now issued. Should it meet with the indulgent reception accorded, as well in England as in America, to the previous Editions, a high value will attach to such further mark of the public approbation. It has been thought best to leave the Author's "Introductory Remarks" untouched, but as he has dwelt so emphatically in them on the Oregon Negotiation, it may be as well to state that, as the interest attaching to that subject has now long passed away, the account of that Negotiation has been omitted.

There will be found in this Edition, towards the close of the volume, four of the "Occasional Productions" of the Author, first collected and published in

Philadelphia in a miscellaneous volume, under that name, after his death many years ago. Three of them have never before been published in England, and the fourth, it is believed, only in part.

These are entitled, "Character of Mr. Canning;" "Letter to Mrs. Rush, describing a visit, in 1836, to Grove Park, the seat of the Earl of Clarendon;" "Letter to same, describing a Christmas visit to Hagley;" and "Letter to same, on the accession of Queen Victoria to the Throne." The following from the "Introduction" to that miscellaneous volume will more fully explain these productions:—

"The character of Mr. Canning was written while Mr. Rush was Secretary of the Treasury, and a member of the Cabinet of President Adams. It appeared in 1827, in the "National Intelligencer" at Washington, a day or two after the news of Mr. Canning's death reached the United States. From the tone of its composition, and acquaintance shown with British statesmen and British and European politics, it was ascribed to the accomplished and powerful pen of the President, himself the immediate predecessor of Mr. Rush at the English Court. Mr. Rush had been thrown into much intercourse with that great English statesman during his mission, and

was prompted to offer this American tribute to his departed genius and public services to his country. It was republished in pamphlet form, and much called for. After thirty-four years, this article, with corrections by the author, is here offered to the public, in this more authentic, and it is hoped more durable, form.

"Precedents exist, without stint, for the posthumous publication of family letters of public men. Unexpectedly invited by General Jackson, while President of the United States, to go to England in 1836, to recover from the Court of Chancery the Smithsonian legacy to the United States, a duty he performed successfully, and towards his success in which President Jackson supposed his previous official residence in that country might open facilities, he went, unattended by his family, a youthful son excepted. Away for two years, his home correspondence from a country where himself and family had resided so long, was among his agreeable occupations. From very many of his letters, written at that time, these three have been taken, one describing a visit to Grove Park, the seat of the Earl of Clarendon; the second, a Christmas visit to Hagley, the seat of Lord Lyttelton; and the third, on Queen Victoria's ascent

to the Throne. The two first give some view of rural hospitalities in England in the winter. The scenes are presented with the familiarity of such a correspondence, blended with recollections, naturally called up, of former days in that country. Passages being omitted not necessary to be printed, the publication of these letters, after the interval that has elapsed, as in part illustrative of English social life in his day—a day now verging on the historical—may, perhaps, be acceptable to some readers; as also the description, in the third letter, of the forms observed when Queen Victoria came to the Throne. Mr. Rush was ever very guarded in touching with his pen upon the scenes and topics of private society. Thoroughly American in heart, he appreciated, nevertheless, the influence upon some of her individual and national characteristics of the social system of England, of which he was a close and thoughtful observer. Hence, he has occasionally devoted his pen to it, as it came under his eye in private life; but always with strict restraint."

An Alphabetical Index is also subjoined to this Edition, which may be found of use.

B. R.

LONDON, *April* 7, 1873.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

PLAN OF THE WORK.

In the spring of 1833, when I threw out a volume of the same general nature with this, I intimated doubts whether the work would be continued; and as twelve years have elapsed without a continuation of it, whilst the materials have been in my possession, it may be inferred that those doubts were sincere. I had objections to going on with such a work, unless under the hope of possible public good.

But of late, the relations between the United States and England, although happily pacific, have been assuming, in some respects, an aspect less and less friendly; I do not mean as indicated by any of the official correspondence or steps between the two Governments, of which I know too little to speak, but as manifested by public opinion and the press in both countries. International questions of importance to both, have been advancing to a point, and

producing public discussions in both, under feelings inauspicious to either party doing justice to the other. The Oregon question is one of them, and, at the present juncture, seems the most important. I have, therefore, been induced to publish, in connection with contemporary and explanatory matter belonging to them, negotiations which I conducted with England, over and above those described in the former work, including the whole subject of the Oregon; and if, by doing so, I may be able to contribute a mite towards awakening dispositions to calmer inquiry on both sides of the water, I should consider myself truly fortunate.—[See what is said on this subject in the writer's Preface to the present Volume.—Ed.]

Continuing the work at all, I continue it on the plan commenced; that is, by interspersing social and personal scenes with those that are official, and for the same reasons. These were given in the remarks "To the Reader," in the former work; and especially also in the Preface to the Second Edition of it, published in Philadelphia, July, 1833, and need not here be repeated. I keep within the same limits, and lay myself under all the restraints, established in that work. In this, besides the official and personal parts, I have also introduced a little more of the mis-

cellaneous matter of the times, as these are now growing to be in some degree historical.

The power, intelligence, and high fashion of the world, are in favour of peace. The King of the French pays a visit to the Queen of England to promote this great object, towards which the Queen had led the way by going to Eu. The Emperor of Russia also pays a visit to the English Queen, "*even at a great sacrifice of personal convenience.*" The Queen, in the Speech to her Parliament from which these last words are taken, cordially acknowledges both visits in the spirit of amity in which they were made. Shall Republican America—shall this great and rising nation of the New World, be behind Europe in fostering this beneficent spirit? Will England, when she comes fully to weigh the immense value of friendly relations with this country, be less anxious to maintain them, than with the dominions of these royal and imperial visitors to her shores? It cannot be that either country will be insensible to a duty so precious. The King of the French is reported to have said, in reply to an address at Portsmouth, on the occasion of his visit to Queen Victoria, that he looked upon the friendship of France and England "*as the keystone of the arch which supported the peace*

of the world." Let the peace between the United States and England be broken, and who does not see that the arch would, as certainly, tumble to pieces?

Far off be that calamity. With the wisdom of which the present Premier of Britain [Sir Robert Peel] has given such frequent proofs, and the wisdom which will guide the counsels of the United States, a rupture between the two nations is surely not to be anticipated; against which their own highest interests and the interests of the world at large, so powerfully plead. General Jackson, whilst President, had always a sincere desire to be at peace with England. In his annual message to Congress, in December, 1832, speaking of the good understanding which it was the interest of both parties to preserve inviolate, he strikingly characterised it as "CEMENTED BY A COMMUNITY OF LANGUAGE, MANNERS, AND SOCIAL HABITS; AND BY THE HIGH OBLIGATIONS WE OWE TO OUR BRITISH ANCESTORS FOR MANY OF OUR MOST VALUABLE INSTITUTIONS, AND FOR THAT SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS ENABLED US TO PRESERVE AND IMPROVE THEM." Though I quoted this before, it well merits to be quoted again; for we see in it President Jackson's

patriotic judgment, and the frankness ever belonging to him in the expression of it. It is well known that he was in favour of settling the dispute respecting the North-eastern Boundary, by accepting the award of the King of Holland, although the Senate was against it; and although it had been repeatedly declared, at popular meetings and in our legislative bodies, that our title to the whole of the "disputed territory" was clear. The "London Quarterly Review" for March, 1843, called President Jackson "a man of resolution and sagacity;" and, alluding to "his anxious desire and laudable ambition," these are also the words of the Reviewer, to settle the above Boundary question, remarked, that as he had "in former days gallantly defeated us (the English) in the field, he was stronger in public opinion, than any other statesman would have been, for doing us justice in the cabinet."

Whilst all feel confident that the present executive head of our happy Union [President Polk] will "submit to nothing that is wrong" from Britain, we may feel equally confident that, adopting the remaining part of the noble maxim of his illustrious predecessor and friend, President Jackson, he will "ask nothing that is not right."

In reference to the social scenes recorded in this volume it may be pardonable if I should, at this point of time, say a word or two founded on the experience of the past. I beg, then, simply to remark that in the pages of the former volume more than one hundred names are mentioned, and that, coupled with most of them, portions of conversations are given, and allusions made to private life, in the mansions and circles of England which I frequented. Nevertheless, although the book has been so many years before the public, no complaint has ever reached me, directly or indirectly, from any one of these sources; from which I infer that the guards I imposed upon myself were considered ample, as I intended them to be. If similar guards were not kept up now, this volume should never go to the press. I have been to England again since the former publication, and had frequent renewed intercourse with individuals and families there mentioned; and I cannot here refrain from saying that, but for the entire chasm of more than two years which occurs in the present volume, and the paramount and absorbing nature of the negotiations filling its latter pag names which do not appear in them would have found a place, merely for the satisfaction

of expressing my feelings under their kind and gratifying hospitalities. Sir George Staunton, Mr. Guillemard, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Alexander Johnson—[Sir Alexander Johnson subsequently expressed to the writer, while residing in London, a very kind and complimentary opinion of the work from which this is a reprint, adding that a celebrated British Statesman had "once attempted something of the kind, but gave it up."—Ed.]—Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, Mr. Basil Cochrane, the late Earl of Morton, and the Buller family, Countess Mengden, Sir Coutts Trotter, the late Earl of Clarendon—these are some of the names not absent from my grateful recollections.

Nor has the substantial fidelity of the former volume in other respects been impaired, and my great aim has naturally been to give to the present the same character for truth which is to be my compensation for the defects and imperfections in both volumes. A single page in a great author humbles me to the dust—under all views of authorship. If Horace Walpole somewhere says this, tenfold need have I to say and feel it. Some inadvertencies in things not very material found their way into print before; but I would fain hope that the sum of

them does not trench upon that essential authenticity which is the sole merit to which I shall ever aspire for the work, in its official or personal incidents.

In this volume I have perhaps been more minute in some of the scenes than before; but it has been remarked that "*even minute things, where they concern great characters, seem to quit their nature and become things of consequence, besides that they bring us nearer to the times and persons they describe.*" Being farther off now from the times and persons described than when I formerly ventured upon the task, I must hope for the shield of this remark if ever going into a little more detail in parts purporting to be at all descriptive.—[What was here said by the Author in 1845, naturally derives increased strength now in 1873.—ED.]

I have written in the same unchanged tone of good feeling towards England and her great names which I desire to preserve as long as we can honourably keep at peace; never supposing that this feeling may not be cherished in subordination to that primary and constant love for his own land which ought to be the glory of every American. Who looks, therefore, in these limited pages for the disparaging things in part

composing the mighty aggregate of good and evil in the national character and condition of England, like Shakspeare's "mingled yarn" in the life of man, will not find them. Moreover, these are so abundantly promulgated by the self-accusing portion of her own free press, and the searching self-examinations of her Parliamentary Committees, which probe and blazon them in the hope of working out ameliorations; and they are so fully repeated by writers in other countries, that their omission from a single book, if only as a novelty, need scarcely be complained of; any more than that the very little which is said of her character and condition is on the fair side; which, though rarely held up, may also be true. Nor will party spirit be found in this volume any more than in the former; the work being written with different objects and feelings.

Having quoted from the "London Quarterly Review," I will close these introductory remarks with a passage from another work, long its great rival in Britain, "The Edinburgh Review;" the productions of both belonging to the literature of the age. It is as follows:—"What is told in the fullest and most accurate annals, bears an infinitely small proportion to what is suppressed. The difference between the

copious work of Clarendon and the account of the civil wars in Goldsmith's abridgement, vanishes when compared with the immense mass of facts respecting which both are equally silent. No history, then, can present us with the whole truth."*

But although no writer, however vast his compass and ability, would ever be able to present the whole truth in reference to such a country as England, the humblest may have the chance of contributing particles to the stock of general knowledge, by keeping to the truth in what little he does exhibit, though his representations be in the main favourable.

RICHARD RUSH.

SYDENHAM, NEAR PHILADELPHIA,
July, 1845.

* Volume for 1828, Title "*History.*"

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THE COURT OF LONDON

FROM 1819 TO 1825.

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FEBRUARY 12th, 1819. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh at his private residence, St. James's Square, on the affairs of Spanish America.

I informed him that I had received a despatch from my Government on that subject, and had sought an interview with him, to make known its nature and object. It set out with stating that the United States continued to consider the controversy between Spain and her colonies in the light of a civil war, and then proceeded to show the duty of a neutral state towards the parties. Next, it showed that the conduct of the United States had, in point

of fact, conformed to this duty, as far as had been practicable. It spoke of the mediation invoked by Spain for the settlement of the dispute, bringing into view what had also been the uniform course of the United States in relation to that mediation. The despatch, after dwelling upon the progress which some of the newly-formed states in Spanish America had made towards an independent existence, gave in to the hope that the time was rapidly approaching, if it had not actually arrived, when the British Government and the powers of Europe generally, might perhaps see their own interests, as well as those of Spain, and the fair interests of the new states, in such a recognition of the latter, as would bring them within the pale of nations. Finally it declared, that as regarded Buenos Ayres, the President had come to the determination to grant an exequatur to a consul-general who had been appointed by the government of that new state, as long ago as May last, to reside in the United States; or to recognise in some other way its independence, should nothing transpire in the meantime to justify a postponement of his intention.

After this general summary of the essential points, I read to Lord Castlereagh the despatch itself.

Some parts of it appeared to take him by surprise. They were those which seemed to import that the Government of England was at bottom inclining to our view of the subject, as regarded the recognition of the Colonies. He said he was not aware upon what occasion he had uttered sentiments leading to this impression, and, at any rate, none such had been intended. He remarked, on the contrary, that while Great Britain had, from the first, anxiously desired to see the controversy between Spain and her Colonies at an end, and had done her best to effect this result, it had always been upon the basis of a restoration of the supremacy of Spain, on an improved plan of government indeed, especially as regarded the commercial interests of the Colonies, but still her entire supremacy; that he thought this mode of ending the conflict, besides being the one pointed out to England by the subsisting relations between herself and Spain, would prove best for both parties, and for other countries, as the materials of regular self-government among the Colonies did not appear to exist; which made it impossible to forecast in what manner they would be able to sustain themselves as independent communities, whether as regarded their own happiness and prosperity, or the

principles which might affect their intercourse with other nations. These he said had been the leading motives with England for wishing that the Colonies might be brought back again under the authority of the parent state; motives which still had their operation, and must continue, as long as any reasonable expectation was left of the result at which they aimed being accomplished. The intervention of *force* as a means of its accomplishment, England had ever repudiated; the moral power of opinion and advice being the sole ground upon which she had acted hitherto, he admitted, to no effective purpose. It was upon this basis, however, that she had agreed to become party to the mediation he had made known to me last summer.

The relations which bound her to the Allied Powers, as well as to Spain, held her to this course, to whatever extent the counsels and conduct of Spain appeared to frustrate or retard the hope of success. He remarked, that things stood upon the same general footing now as then, in regard to the mediation; it had been acceded to by the European alliance, but nothing had been effected; the subject had been brought into discussion at Aix-la-Chapelle, during the Congress of Sovereigns in November, but

no act followed; Spain seemed bent upon continuing the war with her own means, and clung to the hope of bringing it to a close upon her own terms. He said that, during the discussions at Aix-la-Chapelle, he had found France and Prussia labouring under a belief that the United States desired to be associated in the mediation, and willing to accede to it on the same basis with the European powers, until he had undeceived them, which my communications to him in July had enabled him to do. He particularly mentioned that the Duke of Richelieu had previously been very decided in that belief. His Lordship expressed regret that the United States viewed the question of Independence in the Colonies differently from England; giving as a reason the probable weight of their counsels with the Colonies; so that, although my Government was no formal party to the mediation, if, nevertheless, it had harmonized in opinion with that of England on the question of Independence, the hope would have been increased of seeing the dispute healed the sooner through the influence which, from local and political causes, the United States might naturally be supposed to have with the Colonies. How far it was practicable to settle it, giving back to Spain her supremacy, and

granting to the Colonies a just government under her sway, was not for him to say; but it was the hope to which the European alliance still clung.

He admitted that Buenos Ayres had given better proofs of capacity to exist as an independent community than any of the other Colonies; and he fully admitted, also, the present and prospective value of our commerce in that quarter, when I mentioned to him that it consisted, on our side, of such articles as naval stores, ready-built vessels, furniture, timber, and fish,—without enumerating others. The whole tone of his conversation was conciliatory, and he said, in conclusion, that the frank disclosure I had made to him of the President's views and intentions, would be received by his Majesty's Government in the friendly spirit in which it had been made.

This was my first interview with Lord Castlereagh since the arrival and publication in England of the despatch which Mr. Adams had addressed to Mr. Erving, our Minister at Madrid, on the 28th of November, relating to the transactions of our army in Florida under General Jackson, and the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. It had been sent to Congress at the latter end of December, with other documents on that subject; all of which had been

published. The despatch of Mr. Adams, as an authentic view of the whole, had excited attention in diplomatic circles, and I was not sure that his Lordship might not allude to it; but he did not, nor did I. The names of the two men executed were glanced at in an incidental manner.

He was remarking that, notwithstanding the neutrality of England, as between Spain and her Colonies, the latter had undoubtedly received aid from England in arms, ammunition, and men, in ways which the English laws could not prevent. This led him to speak of the order of the Court of Madrid, of the 14th of January, in which heavy penalties were denounced against all subjects of Foreign States who joined the standard of the Colonists. He said that this order had been very much felt by France; but he added, that England gave herself no concern about it, to whatever commentary the principles on which it assumed to rest, might be open. Those of our subjects, said he, who choose to join the Colonists, must take all consequences; they go at their own risk; we can hold out no hand to protect them, any more than we thought ourselves bound to do in the case of the two men who intermeddled with the Indians along your

borders. Such was his frank allusion to the case. He hinted at an intention which had, for awhile, partially existed, of bringing a bill into Parliament to check the aid which the Colonists derived from England, founded on the principle of our acts of Congress; but remarked, that it had hitherto been abandoned, from difficulties found to attend any attempt to reconcile with all other parts of their system of law, any new prohibitory statutes upon this subject.

February 15th. Dined at Count Palmella's, the Ambassador from Portugal, to whom Mr. Adams had given me a letter. His residence, in South Audley Street, No. 74, is in a house which has been eighty years in the possession of the Portuguese embassy at London.

The dinner was given to the Archduke Maximilian, brother to the Emperor of Austria. Besides this Prince and his suite, consisting of several officers in the Austrian service, there were present the Spanish Ambassador, and the Ambassador from the Netherlands; the Danish, Neapolitan, and Saxon Ministers; M. De Neumann, of the Austrian embassy; Baron Bulow of the Prussian; the Duke of Wellington; Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exche-

quer ;* Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Lynedoch, formerly General Graham, distinguished in the Peninsular war.

On being introduced to the Archduke Maximilian, he spoke of the United States, introducing the subject himself, and addressing me in English. Lord Melville took occasion to say to me, that the Spanish Ambassador was making frequent complaints to the British Cabinet of aid sent from English ports to the Spanish Colonies, and calling for a stop to be put to it; which, he added, it was extremely difficult to do. I said that our Secretary of State probably received as many complaints from the Spanish Minister at Washington: arms, ammunition, and military stores were, without doubt, sometimes exported through evasions of our laws, impossible to be prevented, and Spain was too weak on the ocean to capture them on their way to the Colonies as contraband, which she was at liberty to do, if able. Here was the difficulty, and the law-breakers knew it.

At dinner, I sat between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Lynedoch. Speaking of the property-tax, the former mentioned that the four largest incomes in the kingdom, as returned under it

* Afterwards Lord Bexley.

while in operation, were those of the Duke of Northumberland, Earl Grosvenor,* the Marquis of Stafford,† and the Earl of Bridgewater; these, he said, were the richest Peers in England, and there were no Commoners whose incomes were returned as large. They each went beyond one hundred thousand pounds, clear of everything. [The increasing productiveness of agricultural and mining industry in England since the above date, has, it is understood, very largely increased these incomes.—ED.] Many incomes among the Peers and several among Commoners of large landed estates, approached these in amount; but none came up to them according to the official returns.

Remarking that I found it difficult to arrive at the precise extent of the poor-rates from the published accounts, I asked their amount. He said that in some counties, as Sussex for instance, they were as high as eight shillings in the pound; and that they probably amounted to about eight millions sterling for all England. We spoke again of the army of England; he said that the whole expense of keeping it up at present (one hundred thousand men), was about

* Afterwards Marquis of Westminster.

† Afterwards Duke of Sutherland.

eight millions sterling, all military pensions included; and added, that it was about as much in pounds sterling, as the expense of keeping up the army of the United States (ten thousand men at that time) was in dollars. This he explained, in part as formerly, by mentioning the very great preponderance of artillery in our army on a peace establishment, relative numbers considered. He remarked that our navy was also much more expensive than the British, which he ascribed to our having the best of everything in it. This was said with his usual courtesy; though I suppose another, and probably a stronger cause to be, that we have not yet arrived at the true practice of economy,—one of the last attainments of experience and skill in armies and navies, when united with comfort and efficiency. Some of the battles of the Peninsula were touched upon; the Duke of Wellington sat opposite to us, and it was remarked how fortunate it had been for England that he was not sent to America after the peace of Paris in 1814. I inferred that there had been an intention of sending over the Duke to command in the war against the United States; and I afterwards heard, more distinctly, that this measure was in contemplation.

After dinner I had conversation with the Spanish Ambassador and the Neapolitan Minister. With the former it was limited to ordinary civilities; the latter said handsome things of Mr. Adams's letter to Mr. Erving, and seemed anxious to learn if England had taken any serious exception to the proceedings of our army in Florida, and the execution of the two British subjects. I said that she had not. "Then," said he, "the newspapers *may go on to bark;* they bark dreadfully in England, but the Ministers don't mind them."

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD BAILEY, GUILDHALL, AND DOCTORS' COMMONS.—OPINION DELIVERED BY SIR WILLIAM SCOTT, JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY.

FEBRUARY 22. Went to the Old Bailey. Nothing of much consequence was before the court. A prisoner was on trial for an assault with intent to kill.

Immediately facing the dock, where the witnesses stand, I observed the following inscriptions, printed conspicuously in panel work on the wall :—

"A false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall perish."—PSALMS.

"Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God."—PSALMS.

"If a false witness rise up against any man to testify against him that which is wrong, then thou shalt do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother."—DEUT. 19th chap., 16 and 17 verses.

I went next to Guildhall, where the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas hold their sittings for the trial of issues; but neither happened to be in session. Over the outside door of the building was the inscription, "DOMINE DIRIGE NOS."

In the great hall stand monuments to the Earl of Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Nelson. A remarkable portion of the inscription on the first has been noticed in a former work. That on the monument to Mr. Pitt concludes with these words, viz., "DISPENSING FOR TWENTY YEARS THE FAVORS OF THE CROWN, HE LIVED WITHOUT OSTENTATION, AND DIED POOR."

I next took a bird's-eye view of three of the Inns of Court, Barnard's Inn, the Inner Temple, and Middle Temple, so associated with sages and ornaments of the law; made short visits to the Custom House, the Royal Exchange, and Stock Exchange, and to Lord Nelson's tomb at St. Paul's, all which the guide-books describe better than I could, and hastened home to receive a party engaged to dine at my house, on this anniversary of Washington's birthday. It was composed of members of the diplomatic corps, and several of my countrymen in London; also Mr. John Penn, of Spring Garden, de-

scendant of the founder of Pennsylvania. We had the toast belonging to the day; and what enlightened man of any nation can fail to do homage to the great name of Washington? [The custom of celebrating Washington's birthday by our Ministers in foreign countries, here commemorated more than fifty years ago, is continued to this day, often with increased and imposing observances. It is to the credit of the diplomatic corps and people of other countries that they rarely fail to be present at these celebrations, when invited, often contributing to them in graceful ways. The display of the British flag, by British ships in American ports, in commemoration and honour of the day, noticed in the former work, is a feature even more striking, and deserves to be recorded to the praise of the great and kindred people who first gave Washington to mankind, and who have long since shown that they know how to rise above all petty and illiberal feeling.—ED.]

At twelve, at night, when our guests had left us, we went to a party at the Marchioness of Salisbury's, Arlington Street, and afterwards to a masquerade at the Opera. At the latter, we were in dominoes, as lookers-on at a scene new to us in Europe.

February 26. Went to Doctors' Commons, in the

hope of seeing Sir William Scott* upon the Bench, and was not disappointed. I had read most of his decisions, and had the high opinion of his talents common to all. A salvage case was before the court. The counsel were, Sir Christopher Robinson, Dr. Lushington, Dr. Bernaby, and Dr. Dodd, each of whom spoke. In delivering his opinion, Sir William Scott dwelt upon the merit of the salvors, and decreed to them a twentieth of the cargo.

There is a precision and elegance in the recorded opinions of this celebrated Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in England, which induced the Marquis of Lansdowne, when Lord Henry Petty, once to say of them in the House of Commons, that they might be studied as models of classic style, apart from their learning and ability. I had, therefore, been waiting with curiosity to hear him deliver his opinion. It disappointed me; perhaps because expectation had been raised too high. It was extemporaneous, or delivered without any notes that were perceptible from my position; neither was it long; but his elocution did not appear to me the best; his manner was hesitating; his sentences more than once got entangled, and his words were sometimes recalled,

* Lord Stowell.

that others might be substituted. [Is not this apt to be characteristic of a great many public speakers in England, amongst whom the comma, the semi-colon, and the period, are not, perhaps, always found in the right place; yet the writer has sometimes listened to some of the highest specimens of eloquence in the British Parliament, where the smoothness and fluency of the style kept pace with the vigour and beauty of the thought.—ED.]

But labour, it would seem, must be the condition of all high excellence; from which the genius of this great jurist claimed no exemption. At a subsequent day in England, on one of the many occasions when it was my good fortune to be at the hospitable table of Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Mr. Coleridge was of the company. Sir William Scott being spoken of, and my admiration of his talents expressed, under the salvo that we, in the United States, could not always accede to his doctrines on neutral rights, Mr. Coleridge said, that nothing could exceed the care with which he wrote out and corrected his opinions; that to the decree, as orally pronounced in court, he of course held himself bound; but the language and arrangement he would vary at pleasure. Not only would he change words while the opinion was passing

through the press, but reconstruct whole sentences; and an instance was alluded to in which, after an anxious correction of the proof sheet, and a revise after that, the type was nearly all pulled down to be set up again for some better transposition of the sentences, or improved juxtaposition of the testimony, at the last moments before publication. Such was the severe judgment, even in matters of style, of this chaste scholar and profound jurist.

"How finish'd with illustrious toil, appears
This small, well-polish'd gem, the work of years!"

CHAPTER III.

WEEKS'S MUSEUM—ITS EXTRAORDINARY COLLECTION.—ROYAL CHAPEL, WHITEHALL.—LEVEE AT CARLTON HOUSE.—AUSTRIAN COURT AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON SPANISH AMERICAN AFFAIRS AND OTHER SUBJECTS.—THE CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER TO BE BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S.—SIR JAMES MACINTOSH.—VOTE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REFUSING TO CENSURE GENERAL JACKSON.—NEWS OF THE CESSION OF THE FLORIDAS TO THE UNITED STATES ARRIVES IN LONDON.—NOTE TO LORD CASTLEREAGH, ON EXTRA DUTIES CHARGED ON VESSELS OF THE UNITED STATES.

MARCH 5. Visit Weeks's Museum, in Tichborne Street, which consists chiefly of specimens of mechanism. There were birds that not only sung, but hopped from stick to stick in their cages; there were mice made of pearl, that could run about nimbly; there were human figures of full size playing on musical instruments, in full band—though neither musicians, nor mice, nor birds, had a particle of life in them. There were silver swans swimming in water, serpents winding themselves up trees, tarantulas running backwards and forwards—all equally

without life ; in short, a collection too numerous and curious for me to attempt to describe. There were clocks of curious workmanship, and in great variety. Besides being musical, some of them, in the shape of temples, were ornamented in the richest manner. The proprietor said that his collection in clocks alone was of the value of thirty thousand pounds sterling. His entire collection he valued at four hundred thousand pounds. It was prepared for the Chinese market, where such articles would be in demand at the prices he put upon them ; so he confidently said, though valuing some of his birds at a thousand guineas a piece. He said that the Government of China would not permit the English to have intercourse with them for such purposes, and seemed to be in present despair ; but he added, that "one of these days England will oblige China to receive her wares, by making her feel the strong arm of her power." The outside of this museum looks like a common shop for umbrellas and other small wares ; as, in fact, it is in front. No one in passing along would ever dream of what it contains as you advance inside, and get towards the rear.

It may be taken perhaps as one of the evidences of the immensity of London, that although I occa-

sionally spoke of this collection in society afterwards, I hardly met with any one who had as much as heard of it. It was not, to be sure, a place in which to pass whole days, as in the British Museum, where I have been — that repository of the memorials of genius, science, literature, history, and the arts; but it was a remarkable sample of that exquisite subdivision in mechanical genius, in a field bearing neither upon the useful nor fine arts, to be found only in a vast metropolis. The interior mechanism of the little spider was said to be composed of more than one hundred distinct pieces. My attention had been drawn to the collection by a friend from Canada, with whom I went to see it. What the proprietor said about the trade between England and China, I copy precisely as I wrote down his words, nearly five-and-twenty years ago; and it would seem as if he had spoken in a prophetic spirit. He himself is in all probability no longer among the living, for he told us that he was seventy-six years old; but if he left descendants, he may have indulged in the same prediction to them as to me; and if the collection came to their hands, a market for it in China may give them at last the benefit of their ancestor's ingenuity in so curious a line of British art. The

Emperor Charles the Fifth in his retirement, had, among his other pastimes, puppets that moved like men; but it is not added, I believe, that they could play on musical instruments, like Mr. Weeks's. [If still in existence, and not purchased by the Chinese, what an additional attraction to the South Kensington Museum or Crystal Palace, such a collection would form!—ED.]

March 14. Went to church at the Royal Chapel, Whitehall. This was once the great Banqueting-room of the ancient Palace of Whitehall. Directly in front of it, before the large window, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, Charles the First was beheaded. The whole service seemed the more impressive, within a building calculated to call up in the mind of a stranger, for the first time there, associations of royal banquets and royal agony. A regiment of the foot guards attended, and sat in the gallery.

March 18. Went to the Levee at Carlton House. It was very full. Being the first held since the Queen's death, everybody wore mourning. The Archduke Maximilian was there. Speaking of him with M. De Neuman, the latter represented him as among the best informed princes in Europe. I again had some conversation with him about the United States,

on his introduction of the subject. Next I conversed with Lord Castlereagh, who said among other things, speaking of the Austrian Court, that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Emperor entertained all the Sovereigns, Princes, and Ministers, then assembled in that capital; keeping them all at his own expense, as long as they stayed, and providing houses or palaces for their residences. Some idea, he said, might be formed of the scale on which it was done, when he mentioned that the principal Equerry to the Emperor had orders to have several hundred horses in readiness daily, for the accommodation and pleasure of these his distinguished guests, and all who moved in their train. Not only were tables provided for all, but each of the guests, including secretaries, aids, and attachés, were desired to bring to the tables any of their friends whom the great events of Europe might have drawn to that capital. I ventured to intimate that such imperial hospitality, having no House of Commons or House of Representatives to call for its items, was doubtless agreeable to those who dispensed, and to those who received it; at which point of our conversation, his attention being drawn off by a member of the cabinet, we separated. He approached me again in an hour, to request that

I would call upon him at his private residence on the 21st, having something to say to me on Spanish affairs.

March 21. Call on Lord Castlereagh, according to appointment. His house had just been undergoing repairs, particularly in window glass, from the effects of some acts of violence committed upon it by the mob at the recent special election for Westminster.

He informed me that, since our last conversation on Spanish affairs the subject of the mediation had taken a decisive turn. Spain had finally declined all mediating offices; there seemed, therefore, to be an end of the whole matter, as regarded any further steps to be taken by England, or by the powers of Europe. He recapitulated the history of this proffered mediation, now come to nothing; he went over grounds connected with its origin and progress; adverted to what had passed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and said that if the mediation had been acted upon, the plan of the Allies was, that Spain should concede to such of her Colonies as had not been in general revolt, the same terms, as far as applicable to their future government, as were proposed to be granted to those which had openly resisted her authority. He also said, that it had been suggested that some

individual, in whom Spain herself, as well as the Allies, had confidence, should be selected to go to Madrid, with full powers from the latter in the whole business of the mediation. The Duke of Wellington had been designated as the person; but Spain had not acceded to the proposition. He observed, further, that Spain had made a request to send a representative to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; but this was not deemed of a nature to be acquiesced in. These were the main points mentioned by Lord Castlereagh, not stated to me on former occasions. He remarked, that the inference from all was, that Spain had now resolved to rely upon her own efforts by sea and land, and on the supplies of her own treasury, for putting down rebellion throughout all the dominions of Ferdinand. This resolution had come about, he added, through the change of ministry in that country; an event which took place at about the time of the assemblage of the Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. His Lordship concluded by remarking, that this rejection of the mediation would not influence the course which Great Britain would otherwise have adopted under the communication I made to him last month, about our intended recognition of Buenos Ayres; meaning, as he explained, that it had

created no unfriendly sensibility in the British Cabinet towards Spain, however inexpedient her course might be thought.

This subject being disposed of for the present, I took the opportunity of bringing to Lord Castlereagh's notice some additional proof of the guilt of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, applicable, in this instance, chiefly to the former. It was contained in a printed document received in a late despatch from the Secretary of State, presenting the "Talk" sent by Oponey, a chief of the Upper Creek Indians, in March 1817, to the Big Warrior, principal chief of that nation. I described the nature of this talk, and its unequivocal bearing upon Arbuthnot's guilt. His Lordship not being certain whether Mr. Bagot had transmitted the pamphlet which contained it, I put a copy into his hands, with references to the proper passages. He listened to all I said with interest; remarking, that the subject would come before Parliament, Lord Lansdowne having intimated to Lord Liverpool his intention of moving it in the House of Peers. He further remarked, that the course which the investigation had taken in the House of Representatives at Washington, was calculated to embarrass the Cabinet of England, the speeches of our own members having sharply denounced General

Jackson. These, he said, were cited and dwelt upon in the English journals, and cast by the Opposition into the teeth of the Ministry, who had viewed the subject in lights different from those members of Congress.

I next made Lord Castlereagh acquainted with the circumstances of the outrage committed upon the Consul of the United States at Tripoli, in September, by some negro slaves of an officer of the Bashaw, and of the part acted by the British Consul on the occasion; to whom a declaration was imputed, that all that he had done was under the orders of his Government. I found that the matter was new to his Lordship; but he said at once, that there never could have been any orders or instructions of any description whatever, going to sanction unfriendly treatment towards our public officers, or any of our citizens in that quarter. He added, that the concerns of the British Government with the Barbary powers were under the more immediate cognizance of the Colonial department, and referred me to Lord Bathurst for further conversation respecting this case, or whatever representations it might call for.

Before our interview closed, I spoke of the right of search; I said it was in vain to disguise the sensitive feeling which the people of the United States had, whenever its exercise on the high seas

was proposed, no matter what the object; and consequently my fears for the result of his proposal to us about the slave-trade. He replied, that he was aware of our objections, but added, that as he did not despair of France and Russia conceding it in the end, notwithstanding all that had passed at Aix-la-Chapelle, he would not surrender the hope that we too would give up our scruples, at a future day, for the sake of carrying forward so great a cause.

March 22nd. Dined at the Marquis of Lansdowne's. The Duke of Bedford, Prince Poniatowski, Sir James Macintosh, Count Ludolf, Mr. Adair, former Ambassador from England at Constantinople, and Mr. Alexander Baring* were of the company. I sat next to Sir James Macintosh. He spoke in the highest terms of our host, remarking, that his talents were of the first order, and his temper and discretion equal to his talents.

All my impressions go to confirm these opinions; yet, I fear that he means to take part against us in the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, not only from what Lord Castlereagh said yesterday, but other indications. Before going to dinner, a servant brought in one of the evening papers. His Lordship opening

* Since Lord Ashburton.

it for a moment, noticed the news which had arrived in the morning, of the House of Representatives having refused to pass a vote of censure on General Jackson. He simply read over the vote, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Baring, and Sir James Macintosh, listening. The majority against censuring him being forty-six, his Lordship supposed it to be small, and looked to me for information. I remarked, that it would rather be considered large for our House of Representatives; a body much less numerous than the House of Commons. No comments were made, or any political subject alluded to afterwards in that classic dining-room, where it was not for the first time I had been a guest.

After dinner I had renewed conversations with Sir James Macintosh. Alluding to the style of speaking in the House of Commons, he characterised it by saying, that "the true light in which to consider it, *was as animated conversation on public business;*" and, he added, that it was "rare for any speech to succeed in that body which was raised on any other basis." He thought Mr. Brougham the first man in the House for various and universal information on political subjects; Mr. Canning and Mr. Plunkett, on the whole, the first orators. Mr. Canning, he said, excelled all the rest in language.

So spoke, in few and significant words, on an ample subject, this deep and calm observer of men and things, this profound master in speculative thought; to me ever instructive when I meet him; the modern Burke, for so I must consider him; wanting, to be sure, his diligence and energy in carrying onward great public affairs, but scarcely inferior in mental powers under the highest state of discipline; in conversation, uniting condensation to knowledge the most abundant and various, and so benignant in temper that you never hear him harsh upon any one; his powers of analysis seeming to delight (so it has ever been when I have heard him talk) in justly discriminating the talents and virtues of his great contemporaries; nor does he keep back the merit of political opponents, whilst true to his own faith. How rare such a man, and what a model for politicians!

March 23rd. The vote of the House of Representatives, refusing to pass censure on General Jackson, has produced a slight depression in the English funds. The newspapers break out into violent language. Some of them, in attempting to account for the injustice and ferocity with which, as they say, it brands our character, insist that it must arise from the existence of negro slavery among us. The *Morning*

Chronicle, a journal of deservedly high character with the Whigs, seems of this opinion. Strange opinion! when the southern planters in the states where slavery exists as originally planted by the laws of England, yield to no part of our population in solid and civilizing virtues, and in all the elements which go to make up that high character—the character of a gentleman. That Washington was the growth of our southern soil, ought, of itself, to save it from such inconsiderate denunciations.

March 25. News arrives of the cession of the Floridas by Spain to the United States. The English papers raise a clamour, charging ambition and rapacity upon the United States. They say nothing of the acquisitions which England has been making in all parts of the globe, by her arms or policy, since the days of Elizabeth and Cromwell. Even if we were to show some tincture of this quality, still, as her own children, disposed to act in her own spirit, her journalists might make allowances; but, in fact, we acquire Florida by fair treaty; we give Spain the *quid pro quo* to the uttermost farthi[illegible] and the last thing th[illegible]

go farther. I have already had occasion to bear testimony to what I believe to have been the liberal views of this Foreign Secretary of England in regard to the relations between our two countries; and I now desire to do it again, on authentic grounds. The convention of last October produced complaint among portions of the people, both of England and the United States; as is apt to be the case after all treaties between ambitious nations approaching, in any points, to rivalry. There were parts of the convention not relished on our side; and those who were interested in the British North American fisheries, clamoured exceedingly at the article about the fisheries, alleging that England had surrendered everything to the United States. They even asked pecuniary indemnification from the English Government for what it had given up. Lord Castlereagh, alluding to these clamours, said to me, that his government was unmoved by them; and that he ght it of less moment which of the parties gained more or lost a little more by the compact, t so difficult a point should be adjusted, and countries, so far, be made

needed. This was true wisdom. I did not fail to communicate his sentiments to my Government. Out-door clamour is little aware of the difficulties which Governments often experience in arranging clashing interests between great nations; and too little inclined to ask, whether it is not better, sometimes, for each to abate a little, than determine to face all the consequences of standing out too stiffly on ground taken at first. [Do not these sentiments, uttered more than fifty years ago, by a great and enlightened British Statesman, apply with peculiar force to the recent decision of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, and will not the well-judging and patriotic people of both countries everywhere respond to them?—ED.]

CHAPTER IV.

DINNER AT PRINCE ESTERHAZY'S—REMARKABLE INCIDENT AT IT.—DINNER AT LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S.—INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, RELATIVE TO THE EXTRA DUTIES.—LETTER TO THE CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES AT LIVERPOOL, IN CONNEXION WITH THIS SUBJECT.—DINNER AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN THE CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER.—FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL.—PARTY AT THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY'S—AT COUNTESS GROSVENOR'S.

MAY 3. Dined with Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador. The dinner was given to the new French Ambassador, the Marquis de Latour Maubourg, lately arrived at the English court as successor to the Marquis d'Osmond, recalled, it was understood, at his own request, not wishing to remain after the Duke de Richelieu ceased to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. The company was large, consisting of ambassadors, ministers, plenipotentiary and chargés d'affaires; the Marquis of Anglesea, the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal, and other guests.

Dinner was announced at eight o'clock, and after the company were seated, an incident probably struck all. On the right of Prince Esterhazy sat the new French Ambassador, as chief guest, and on his left were the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal and the Marquis of Anglesea. Amongst these three, there were but three *legs*. The French Ambassador had lost one of his in the French service at the battle of Leipsic; the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal, one of his; at the battle of Borodino, in the Russian service; and the Marquis of Anglesea, one of his, at the battle of Waterloo. When I attended the Prince Regent's first levee, my attention was drawn to the number of maimed and wounded English officers present; and here, this evening, were accidentally assembled, side by side, three of different nations, each without a limb.

Getting back to the drawing-rooms to coffee, I made the acquaintance of the French Ambassador. His fame as a general of cavalry in the armies of France, is a part of history. His friends dwell with pride on the charge he made upon a body of horse at the battle of Leipsic; upon which occasion the Emperor of Russia was in danger of captivity. His troops called him the Bayard of France; and he

appears as attractive by his gentle manners, as he was formidable in war.

In conversation with the Marquis of Anglesea, he asked whether the United States had not lost much of the carrying trade since the general peace; and while on this topic, also asked whether large portions of the seamen in our public ships during the war had not been British. I said, in reference to the latter, that the impression seemed very general in England, to be such as his question implied; but was not borne out by facts; many British seamen were, undoubtedly, found in our merchant vessels in time of peace, as ours were found in the merchant vessels of other nations, though not in such numbers; but from our *public* vessels, we carefully excluded foreign seamen, and had done so in an especial manner, by positive orders, during the late war; doubtless some had got on board, notwithstanding, but the number was extremely small.

As to the carrying trade, I remarked, that we had lost much of it, but our tonnage held its own through the increase of the coasting trade, and increasing export of our home productions; which, being generally bulky, called for a large amount of tonnage for their transportation.

May 6. Dined at Lord Teignmouth's. The Bishop of Doyne, Lord Gambier, Mr. Grant, Mr. John Owen, and a few others, in addition to the family of Lord Teignmouth, were of the company.

I asked Mr. Grant, who was a Director of the East India Company, if it were publicly known what objects, commercial or other, had brought to London the Persian Ambassador—Mirza Abul Hassan Khan. He said that he was not informed of them; that from Great Britain to Persia, not a ship sailed at present, as far as he knew, and there was not much, if any, communication between the two countries over-land. The only intercourse which existed, was that of a few vessels going from British India to the coasts of the Gulf of Ormus, and Persian Gulf, where they carried articles of British manufacture. For these, payment was made in the gold coins of Venice, which had continued to circulate in that part of Persia, since the days when Venetian commerce took the lead in the East. Lord Teignmouth said that the sequin was still struck at Venice, and found its way through Turkey into Persia. His Lordship could well join in this part of the conversation, having been a traveller into Persia, and understanding its language.

After dinner we found a party assembling in the drawing-rooms, amongst whom was Lord Hill, whose acquaintance I made, and whose military reputation in England seems scarcely second to any but that of the Duke of Wellington.

I count it a good fortune to have enjoyed the acquaintance of Lord Teignmouth, and to have lived in his neighbourhood in London. [Lord Teignmouth then lived in Portman Square, within a few doors of Baker Street.—Ed.] Not speaking of him here as a Governor-General of India whilst Sir John Shore, and performing great duties in the empire which Clive founded and the Wellesleys extended, or as a scholar and author, I will barely say that, besides the hospitalities, acceptable to a stranger, which I received from him, I would gratefully allude also to other and more touching kindnesses from himself and Lady Teignmouth when death entered our domicile. It was then that they did what only the kindest friends think of and do.

May 7. Called on Mr. Robinson, President of the Board of Trade, under a special appointment: he is now also of the Cabinet. I represent to him the inconvenience to which our citizens are put by the demands still made at Liverpool for extra duties and

charges upon their vessels, and request that the practice may cease, as matter of right to the American merchant and ship-owner. He informs me that he was devising a plan which he hoped to mature very soon, the object of which was, not to require payment in the first instance of any alien duties or port charges by our vessels; as the obtaining of them back must always be attended with trouble, even if expense could be avoided. I said that this was the only course to be taken, and the one which our citizens claimed under the convention of 1815. He agreed to this construction of it, and gave me to understand that it would be brought about.

May 8. It does not come within my intention to notice the correspondence I carried on during my mission with the consuls of the United States residing at the ports of Great Britain, the extent and importance of whose duties are not perhaps sufficiently considered by our Government. My correspondence with them was far too frequent to attempt even summary allusions to it, though sometimes it embraced subjects of high and delicate international concern; but a letter to Mr. Maury, the consul at Liverpool, written to-day, is inserted, relating, as it mainly does, to the construction of the convention

between the two countries, and following up, as it also does, the subject of the preceding memorandum, and of my note to Lord Castlereagh of the 27th of April. [The letter, a long one, is omitted from this republication. A copy is of course on file in the Department of State, as is a copy of the letter to Lord Castlereagh, of the 27th of April, 1819, here referred to, and published in the work from which this is a reprint.—Ed.]

In regard to the accounts of our consuls, it may be stated that it devolved upon me to examine those of all the consuls of the United States in Great Britain and Ireland every quarter, and pay them the money due which Congress provided; the whole of which fund, as far as concerned our consuls in Great Britain, was subject to my drafts in the hands of our bankers in London, Messrs. Barings, Brothers and Company. This was a most inappropriate duty with which to charge the Minister, and from which, I believe, he has of late years been absolved. The chief expenditures of the consuls were, indeed, in advancement of a highly useful policy in the Government of the United States, viz., the support and relief of destitute or distressed American seamen in any of the ports of Great Britain or Ireland. Without con-

sulting documents enabling me to be accurate, I should probably be within bounds in saying, that the aggregate of my payments to all these consuls in the course of a single year sometimes exceeded twenty thousand dollars.

May 11. Dined with the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of San Carlos. The dinner was given to the Marquis and Marchioness de Latour Maubourg. All the diplomatic corps; the Duke of Wellington; Count Cicognara; Mr. Hamilton, one of the Under Secretaries of State for the Foreign Department; and several others were of the company. With the Duke of San Carlos I had an exchange of congratulations on the prospect of seeing Spain and the United States placed by the late treaty of Florida upon friendly terms, though the treaty is yet unratified.

His approach to me for this purpose, a minute or two after I entered the room as his guest, was with a grace noticed by some of the diplomatic corps, none of whom, probably, were strangers to the diplomatic coolness between the two nations at Washington, before the treaty was concluded. All see in this Ambassador from the still proud old Court of Madrid, a high specimen of the Spanish gentleman.

At dinner, I was next to the Neapolitan Minister, and Mr. Hamilton. Amongst other topics, we had that of the Persian Ambassador's visit to London. Mr. Hamilton supposed that one of its objects was to obtain, through the good offices of England, some modification of a treaty of peace, concluded a few years ago between Persia and Russia, which Sir Gore Ouseley, then English Ambassador in Persia, aided in negotiating under the mediation of England. The treaty was a good one for English and Russian interests at that time; Russia being at war with Persia, but on the eve of her great struggle against the French in 1812, inasmuch as it liberated some seventy thousand Russian troops from Asiatic objects; but experience showing that some parts of the treaty were likely to bear hard upon Persia, a mitigation of the terms was sought by her, through the instrumentality of England. It was so that I understood Mr. Hamilton.

I had conversation, in the drawing-room, with Mr Ramadani, chargé d'affaires from Constantinople, on our admission to the commerce of the Black Sea. I adverted to the reciprocal advantages which might be expected to flow from opening commercial intercourse by treaty, between the United States

and Turkey,—Britain, France, Russia, and Austria, having the privilege of sending their vessels to the Black Sea; I reminded him that the United States had a larger foreign commerce than any one of these nations—Britain excepted; and might, therefore, as I thought, for reasons operating both with his country and mine, naturally seek participation in the trade of that sea. He listened with apparent attention to what I said, but was backward in reply, having no instructions from his Court on the subject. In the course of our conversation, he mentioned that Turkey had diplomatic representatives only in London, Paris, and Vienna.—[As heretofore mentioned, the Governments of the United States and Turkey have long since exchanged diplomatic representatives.—ED.]

The Portuguese chargé d'affaires, Chevalier Guerrein, manifesting a desire to know the intentions of the United States respecting Buenos Ayres, I informed him of the probable recognition of the Independence of that new State at an early day, by my Government; a communication which I thought he received with satisfaction. He then informed me that Count Palmella, who was in Paris on the affair of Montevideo, had little hope of succeeding in the

object of his visit; and that the grand armament fitting out at Cadiz against Montevideo, was getting ready to sail with all expedition, or making demonstrations to that effect. The Chevalier appeared under no alarm at the threatened hostility of Spain, and referred with complacency to the treaty between Portugal and England, in which the latter guarantees the European possessions of Portugal.

I had also conversation with Count Cicognara, President of the Academy of Arts at Vienna, and author of the work on ancient and modern sculpture; who spoke in high commendation of the talents and acquirements of Mr. Ticknor, of Boston, whom he had met in Italy.

May 12. Yesterday the Marquis of Lansdowne made his promised motion in the House of Lords, for Ministers to produce the correspondence between the two Governments in the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. After debate it was negatived without a division. His Lordship spoke with his usual ability and dignity, but not without misapprehension as to some parts of our system of government and law; particularly our Act of Congress, relative to private citizens who carry on correspondence with foreign Governments; and also as to our Articles of War relating to courts martial.

The United States were sufficiently put in the right on the broad merits of the transaction by the Ministers of the Crown, Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst, who spoke in reply to Lord Lansdowne. It is satisfactory to remark, that the grounds upon which they justified England in abstaining from interference, are the same in effect with those which, in fulfilment of my instructions, I had already at considerable length laid before the British Cabinet, in an official interview with Lord Castlereagh. I need say no more on a subject which, under some of its aspects, was painful; a subject which called for wisdom and firmness in the King's Ministers to get the better of a wide-spread clamour in England when news of the execution of those two men first arrived; and which, gathering aggravation from the power and passion of the British press, to which the merits of the transaction were unknown, threatened for a short time to interrupt the peace of the two countries. Happily it went off without any such consequences. They would, indeed, have been far too momentous for the occasion; yet how often have nations been thrown into collision through slighter causes? History is full of such examples.—[How the now famous Hohenzollern dispute of 1870 is here recalled; a dispute

about a Crown, which at the end of two years an Italian Prince has since voluntarily (and with the sagacity of his race) renounced; but which, in its brief progress, caused an expenditure of blood and treasure which almost defies computation, and led to the overthrow of an empire!—Ed.] The progress of the transaction cost me much solicitude, and I hailed with unmingled satisfaction, its favourable issue.

May 14. I have a request from Mr. Hamilton, to refer him to all our Acts of Congress for maintaining more effectually our neutral relations; but chiefly the act known to have been intended for Spain and her colonies, though general in its terms. I accordingly send it to him, being the Act of the 20th of April, 1818; and give him references to our earlier acts, particularly the Act of June, 1794, passed when the wars of the French Revolution were raging, and complaints were made by one or other of the belligerents, that privateers were fitted out in our ports, and other armaments prepared within our jurisdiction. The motive for Mr. Hamilton's request, may be seen in yesterday's proceedings in the House of Commons. It appears that the Attorney-General has asked leave to bring in a bill, called the Foreign Enlistment Bill, the object of

which is to prevent, as far as possible in future, the departure from British ports, of any men, or military supplies for the Spanish colonies. England is thus going at last to try the effect of special legislation on this subject, with a declaration from Lord Castlereagh, made in the House of Commons, that his Majesty's Ministers owed an apology to the House and country, for not adopting the measure sooner. I was not prepared to see him go to this extent in his declaration; nor for the measure itself. It has certainly been the effect of a recent determination. The policy of it may, perhaps, be called generous, considering the weakness of Spain, and how fast she is tottering to a fall from her colonial power. This, none can see more clearly than the English Ministers. The measure may have been urged on by the course of the United States. Whether a special Act of Parliament can stop supplies, and thence also the complaints from the Duke of San Carlos, to which Lord Melville alluded at the Portuguese Ambassador's, in February, time will show.

It is among the permanent instructions to me from my Government to keep all our ministers, at whatever places we may have them in Europe or America, informed of any events coming under my knowledge

in London, which may bear upon any part of our foreign relations, or otherwise be interesting to the United States. Thus broadly did Mr. Adams view diplomatic duty under this, as all aspects; and it may be in place here to say, that I made known to Mr. Erving, our Minister at Madrid, my communication to Lord Castlereagh in February, of the intention of the United States to recognise the independence of Buenos Ayres. I was also informed by Mr. Erving, that the knowledge of it had been transmitted to the English Embassy at Madrid, by a courier extraordinary from London. This will manifest the interest which the English Court took in that communication, as well as the relations of amity which bind England to Spain; and thence also may render it the less difficult to imagine a motive for the Foreign Enlistment Bill, which the Ministers have at length determined to pass.

May 18. Went to a party last night at the Countess of Jersey's, Berkeley Square. The rooms presented a large array of Whig nobility, amongst them, some of the most enlightened men of England. I next went to Countess Grosvenor's, where a party still larger was assembled. Four rooms were open, the walls of each covered with paintings, Grosvenor

House being celebrated for its large collection. I could do no more than glance at them last night, seeing them better on subsequent occasions. In the principal room, a large one, and very lofty, and which from abundant light had a sun-like brightness, were four large paintings by Rubens—scripture pieces, besides other productions of the masters. These four I was informed had been recently purchased by Lord Grosvenor, for five thousand pounds sterling. In another of the rooms, my attention was called by one of the guests, to a landscape by Paul Potter, small in size, for which it was said a thousand guineas were given. There were historical pieces, fancy pieces, family pieces, landscapes, portraits,—making the walls on all sides glow with this rich and beautiful collection of works of art. On the side-board and tables where refreshments stood, massive plate arrested the eye; whilst from another of the rooms which looked into the gardens, you saw lamps through foliage and flowers, and heard music from bands. It was near two o'clock when we got home from this attractive entertainment.

CHAPTER V.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRINCE REGENT.—EMIGRANTS FROM ENGLAND TO THE UNITED STATES.—DINNER AT MR. WILLIAM VAUGHAN'S.—DINNER AT MR. INGLIS'S.—MR. WILBERFORCE.—DR. JOHNSON.—DINNER AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—LEVEE AT CARLTON HOUSE.—SPECIAL AUDIENCE OF THE PRINCE REGENT.—CONVERSATION ON AMERICAN INTERESTS AT THE LEVEE.

MAY 19. Having received from the Secretary of State an autograph letter, addressed by the President to the Prince Regent, in answer to one addressed by the Prince to the President, announcing the death of the Queen, I wrote the following note to Lord Castlereagh;—

London, May 19, 1819,
51, Baker Street.

MY LORD,—

I have received from the Secretary of State a letter addressed by the President of the United States to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in answer to one from His Royal Highness to the President, dated the 16th of November last.

Having the President's directions to deliver this letter, a copy of which is enclosed, I have to request that your Lordship will be so good as to ask on my

behalf the honour of a special audience of his Royal Highness, or inform me in what other manner it may be the pleasure of His Royal Highness that it should be presented.

I have the honour to be, with distinguished consideration, your Lordship's obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

May 21. Receive the following in reply :—

The undersigned, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Rush's letter of the 19th instant, enclosing the copy of a letter of condolence, from the President of the United States to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the death of her late Majesty the Queen; and requesting an audience of his Royal Highness for the purpose of delivering the original.

The undersigned hastens to acquaint Mr. Rush, that the Prince Regent will grant him an audience for that purpose on the next levee day; and requests he will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

CASTLEREAGH.

Foreign Office, May, 1819.

May 21. Few subjects continue to press more frequently, and, I add, needlessly, upon my time in this capital, sometimes by personal applications, but oftener by letters, than that of emigration to the United States. I am heavily tasked for information on this subject; sometimes even called upon to give advice! The subjoined answer sent to-day to one of these applications, is given as illustrative of the mode in which I deal with all:—

Legation of the United States,
London, May 21, 1819.

SIR,

I received your letter of yesterday's date, and have to say that I have no authority to treat with you upon the subject to which it relates. The United States have never heretofore, by any direct or indirect interference on the part of their Government, invited emigrants from other countries to their shores. Their laws, it is true, are in a high degree liberal towards the foreigner, giving him full protection on his arrival, and clothing him afterwards with the rights of a citizen upon easy terms. But they leave him wholly to his own impulse whether to go or not, abstaining from all engagements or promises with him beforehand, beyond those which

their permanent laws imply. I am not at present aware of any considerations connected with the late acquisition of the Floridas, to authorise an expectation that there will be any departure by the United States from this, their habitual course of policy; and therefore I do not think it necessary, even if I felt at liberty, to transmit your proposals to my Government. The climate and soil of those provinces may indeed favour the cultivation of the articles you have indicated; but this has already been more or less the case with other parts of the territorial dominion of the United States.

In affording you this early and unreserved answer, I have the honour to remain your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

To Mr. Melton.

May 25. Yesterday we dined with Mr. William Vaughan, residing at Clapham, a merchant of great worth, long and well known for his kindness and hospitalities to Americans. To me and to my family, they were extended with great cordiality and warmth.

The party consisted of a few of his neighbours, all my family, and Mr. and Mrs. * * * * a well-informed couple, who gave to conversation a sprightly, and, in part, literary turn. They had recently been to

Brighton, the seashore residence of the Prince Regent, and visited the Pavilion, a sort of marine palace built by the Regent; of the classic architecture of which, fame, it is true, does not give the best account, being fashioned after Chinese models, or that of the Kremlin at Moscow; or partaking of both. With the mention of this building, the Prince Regent himself became a topic, and was spoken of without any great reserve; the disposition to which, is not uncommon when his name comes on the tapis, out of Government circles. There is no rule to which I hold myself more strictly, than that of not intermingling in party politics in this kingdom. Silence is my resource on any signs of that kind of conversation breaking out; more especially when members of the Government or Court to which I am accredited, are aimed at. Our benignant host seconded my reserve on this occasion, and the topic was not much extended, but gave way to others in which all were able to share. [This rule of obvious propriety and good sense should be rigidly adhered to, and never lost sight of, by our representatives abroad. Its infraction should be visited with the sternest displeasure. A young attaché to one of our Legations in Europe, having once permitted himself to forget it

in a large company where he was a guest, the Secretary of Legation was directed on the following day, by the Minister, who was not present, but to whom it was reported by one of the company (not the secretary, who was not present either,) to convey to the offending attaché, in his name, a very grave rebuke, which he did.—ED.]

In the dining-room of Mr. Vaughan stood a piece of furniture in which as a Briton he naturally took pride, and which everybody might look at with interest. It was a sideboard, formerly belonging to Lord Nelson, which he informed us he had purchased at a sale after his death.

May 28. Visit the Duke of Kent at Kensington Palace, and afterwards go to dinner at Mr. Inglis's,* Battersea Rise, West End of Clapham Common. Lord and Lady Compton, Mr. Wilberforce, Sir Thomas Ackland, Mr. and Mrs. Morier, Mr. Stratford Canning, and others were of the company. The name of Ackland brings historical recollections to an American that border on romance, recalling the sufferings and dangers of that devoted wife and heroine, Lady Harriet Ackland, told in so touching a way by General Burgoyne in his narrative of the sur-

* Since Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart.

render and misfortunes of his army at Saratoga. The gentleman of our party, was the present head of the ancient family in Devonshire to which the husband of Lady Harriet Ackland belonged.

Mr. Wilberforce had much of the conversation, all appearing to desire that he should lead it. Sir Thomas Ackland, Lord Compton, and Mr. Inglis, were well able to sustain and draw him out. He told anecdotes of Mr. Windham; said that he had left behind him numerous manuscript books made up of loose memoranda, political and literary, various journals begun and discontinued, with other occasional notes and reflections growing out of his active Parliamentary life; the whole showing great labour—but never the steady pursuit of it; "that deficiency," he added, in his musical intonations of voice, "which stops short so many men capable of the greatest achievements." Speaking of the administration of justice he said, that he looked upon the custom of men of independent estates of the country becoming justices of the peace, and doing all the duties of the office without fee or reward, as that part of their system in England from which consequences the most beneficial were constantly though silently flowing. "Mischief always made a noise," he said; and sometimes a case of op-

pression was charged upon some one or other among the magistrates of this description, which may, in fact, have happened; but he believed the good which, as a body, they did throughout the whole country, incalculably predominated over any occasional mischief.*

The evening was rich in topics, in which all took part as the wine went round, or rather as it seemed forgotten. Johnson's life and character were among them; and I might have been surprised to learn that Mr. Wilberforce knew nothing of Johnson personally, although they were contemporary, if I had not remarked since being in England, how separate as a class their public and parliamentary men, however literary, as well as private persons who are literary, are from the class of authors. The cause becomes obvious when you get a close view of the multiplied sub-divisions of society in London. English statesmen and orators, and men of literary attainments in that large class where permanent fortunes are possessed, pursue literature as an accomplishment. To some of the former, it is the necessary auxiliary of public life; strength alone, in the vast competition of

* The same kind of magistracy prevails in the State of Virginia, where respectable and independent gentlemen discharge the duties of justices of the peace, without pay or reward.

strong minds, not being sufficient without something to give it polish. To the mere men of fortune, literature becomes, very largely, the needful ornament of private life, so many persons having permanent wealth, that it disappears, as a title by itself, to distinction; whilst the professional author, pursues literature as a profession. A more marked illustration of the separation of the two classes could not easily be selected perhaps, than that such a man as Mr. Wilberforce should never have met such a man as Dr. Johnson, both being social in their habits. Johnson, it is true, being in advanced life, (though he was still in full fame, writing his Lives of the Poets,) and Wilberforce in early life; at which epoch to each it was, that they were contemporary. Their political creed was also much the same.

There is doubtless more of approximation now between these two classes in England, than in Johnson's time, and prior to his time. Their still nearer approach might improve authors in their intercourse with the world, and strengthen literature and science in the circles of influence and power; each class lending aid to the other, as in all intercourse among the enlightened. [In the quarter of a century, and more, which has elapsed since the above was written in

1845, the approximation here spoken of has gone on to increase, to which perhaps the great Club-life of London has not a little contributed. All the Clubs are more or less literary, and the fusion of intercourse to which they more or less lead, seems to have realized many of the advantages which the author anticipated.—ED.]

May 29th. Went to see the cork models in Lower Grosvenor Street. There was a representation of the Amphitheatre at Verona, and that of Rome; of Virgil's Tomb; of the Cascade near Tivoli; of the Grotto of Egeria; of Vesuvius in a state of eruption, and various other things of antiquity. I rank it among the curious exhibitions I have happened to see in London. The Neapolitan Minister had drawn my attention to it by remarking that representations of the ancient buildings of Italy, were thought to be better in cork than perhaps any other material—particularly of the colour of some of them; a sort of duskiness, or brown this side of it.

May 30th. Dine at the Spanish Ambassador's. It was a sumptuous entertainment given in honour of his Sovereign's birth-day. The entire diplomatic corps were present; also the Duke and Duchess of Wellington; Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, Chief Secre-

tary of the Prince Regent ;* some Spaniards of note, military officers chiefly ; the ladies of all the Ambassadors and Ministers, and other prominent persons.

I had Prince Esterhazy on one side of me, and on the other Sir Benjamin Bloomfield. The former reiterated the wishes he had expressed to me on former occasions, for the opening of diplomatic intercourse between Austria and the United States. He spoke of the pending discussions in Paris between Spain and Portugal, and thought they would come to nothing ; Spain relying too much on her own exertions without the ability to make them effective. He told me that Lord Castlereagh had made him acquainted with my communication to him of the intention of the United States to recognise Buenos Ayres, and seemed desirous to know whether I supposed our acquisition of the Floridas would change that intention. I said, I had no belief that it would ; but added my impression, that our acquisition of them, coupled with our intention to recognise Buenos Ayres, had induced England to her late determination, to pass the Foreign Enlistment Bill, as something in favour of Spain, nominally at least; remarking further, that this was only a conjecture, as I had

* Afterwards Lord Bloomfield, British Minister at Stockholm.

heard nothing of the sort from this Government, and had no right to inquire. In speaking thus, I desired to invite some communication from him on the subject, knowing his intimate relations with the English Government and Court; but either he knew nothing, or was not at liberty to let me hear it. He remarked, that he thought it natural in the United States to contemplate the recognition of Buenos Ayres, and said that whatever differences of opinion might exist as to the principle of the struggle going on in Spanish America, nothing seemed more certain to all observers out of Spain, than that it must end, sooner or later, in the separation of the Colonies from the parent state.

In conversation with the French Ambassador in the drawing-rooms, I alluded to the good wishes, not good offices, of Mr. Hyde de Neuville, French Minister at Washington, in aid of our treaty for the Floridas; upon which he asked if the British Government had complained of our acquisition of these provinces. I said not to me.

June 3. Attended the Levee, and had my audience of the Prince Regent, as promised by Lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of delivering an autograph letter of condolence from the President on the

death of the late Queen. The audience took place before the general Levee commenced, and in the Regent's private apartment, or closet. Lord Graves was in waiting to introduce me. In the room with the Prince Regent, I found Lord Castlereagh. I delivered the original letter to the Prince, saying, that it was in answer to one which his Royal Highness wrote to the President on the afflicting occasion of the death of her late Majesty the Queen; and that, in delivering it, I had the President's commands to say, that, taking an interest in whatever affected the happiness of his Royal Highness and that of his illustrious House, he had received the intelligence with deep regret, and desired to offer his sincere condolence to his Royal Highness. I added such words as appeared appropriate to the virtues and character of the Queen.

The Prince Regent seemed to feel what I thus said of the Queen his mother, in the name of the Executive head of my country. He replied, that he was much indebted to the President for sentiments so obliging; that it was indeed true that her Majesty had been remarkable throughout life for her virtues; that none had known her worth as well as her family; and that they, therefore, had been naturally

most afflicted at her loss; and not one of them more than himself. The interview here closed. On coming out, I observed that the Persian Ambassador was waiting for an audience after mine was over. Glittering with gems, he entered the Regent's apartment as I left it.

The Levee afforded the opportunity of attending to other business. The President of the Board of Trade was there, and I renewed with all earnestness my application relative to the extra duties. He gave me assurances that he was devising a mode by which I might feel satisfied, that the American shipowners would no longer be called upon to pay them; he found that an Act of Parliament would be necessary; and he added, that he would make it his particular care to have it carried through at the present session.

I had also a conversation with Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, on the subject of the outrage upon the American Consul at Tripoli. He said unhesitatingly, that the shelter afforded to the offenders by the British Consul in manner alleged, if such had been the fact, was as far from being under orders from the British Government, as from any wishes which it could possibly entertain on

such an occasion : he was totally unacquainted with the transaction, but added that he would cause the proper inquiry to be made into it, and have any steps taken that might be necessary. After so unequivocal a disclaimer from two Cabinet Ministers, one of them the Foreign Secretary, this matter, under my present instructions, will now rest.

CHAPTER VI.

MARRIAGES OF THE DUKES OF CAMBRIDGE, CLARENCE, AND KENT.—FORMS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS ON SUCH OCCASIONS.—DRAWING-ROOM ON THE PRINCE REGENT'S BIRTH-DAY.—COURT FORMS.—RUMOUR OF MINISTERIAL CHANGES.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE WEST INDIA TRADE.—RUMOURS ABOUT CUBA.—DINNER AT THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR'S.—PRINCE REGENT'S DRAWING-ROOM.—DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S.—THE RUMOUR ABOUT CUBA.—STRIKING COMPLIMENT FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH TO THE UNITED STATES.

ACCORDING to form, I had furnished Lord Castlereagh with a copy of the autograph letter from the President to the Prince Regent, delivered at the audience described in the preceding chapter, but did not retain one myself. Having a copy of one delivered formerly, similar in purport, though not in the occasion calling it forth, for the incidents were those of gladness, not grief, I will here give it insertion. It was a letter from the President to the Prince Regent in answer to two letters addressed to him by the Prince, announcing the marriages of the Dukes of Cambridge, Clarence, and Kent. In the insertion of this document, which is on the archives of both Governments, there can be nothing improper.

It is, in its nature, public; and time seems now almost to have invested it with an historical character. It may serve to make known a little more largely, the form and spirit in which the Executive heads of Nations, a Republic being one, address each other directly, when there is no intervention of secretaries or ministers. The words which they use, if no more than words, are kind ones; and such words, fitly spoken, we are told, are as "apples of gold in pictures of silver." I gave in chapter eighth of the former work, an autograph letter which shows how heads of Nations address each other, when charging their representatives with the transaction of grave matters of international concern. The letter now inserted may serve as a sample of the mode in which courteousness and good-will are reciprocated between them in the sphere of personalty. Here is the copy of the letter:

To His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

OUR GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,

I have received two letters which your Royal Highness was so good as to address to the United

States, dated the 1st and 12th of July last, by which your Royal Highness was pleased to communicate to us information of the nuptials of their Royal Highnesses your much respected Brothers, the Dukes of Cambridge, Clarence, and Kent; the Duke of Cambridge, with her Serene Highness the Princess Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa of Hesse Cassel; the Duke of Clarence, with her Serene Highness the Princess Adelaide Louisa Catherine of Saxe Meiningen; and the Duke of Kent, with her Serene Highness Victoria Maria Louisa of Saxe Cobourg; all recently solemnized at the Queen's Palace. Feeling a sincere and lively interest in the happiness of your Royal Highness and of your August Family, I offer to your Royal Highness on these joyful events, my cordial congratulations; and I earnestly pray that they may be productive of the truest felicity to the parties themselves, and of permanent benefits to the British nation.

I pray God, Great and Good Friend, to have you always in his holy keeping. JAMES MONROE.

Written at Washington, this Third day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States, the Forty-third, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, SECRETARY OF STATE.

From one of these marriages has sprung a Queen, who now reigns over the British realm. From that fair stock is likely to spring a race of Sovereigns: and may not all breathe hopes in unison with President Monroe's letter? Besides the "permanent benefits to the British nation," for which that good man and sterling patriot expressed his wish, while conveying his congratulations on the marriage of the Duke of Kent, may not all hope, that it may tend also to the benefit of the family of nations? The wish, or prayer, as given out by President Monroe, if but a formulary, is enlightened, for this reason, that the prosperity of one great nation is that of others. England's prosperity flows over upon us, as ours upon England: and thus, international courtesy, when assuming this form, embodies international wisdom.

June 4. Receive a note from Sir Robert Chester, the master of ceremonies, informing me that the Prince Regent's birth-day would be kept on the 17th of this month, and that a Drawing-room would be held on that day. Regular notices of this kind from the Court, are sent to all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, although the ceremonials of which they give information, are always announced in the newspapers. I give a copy of his note:

Sir Robert Chester presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, and has the honour to acquaint him that the Prince Regent's birth-day will be kept on Thursday, the 17th instant; when his Royal Highness will hold a Drawing-room at Buckingham House.

68, South Audley Street, June 2, 1819.

P.S. Carriage Tickets for Constitution Hill will be sent to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers the day before the Drawing-room.

I acknowledged the note as follows :—

Mr. Rush presents his compliments to Sir Robert Chester, and has the honour to return his thanks for the information he has been so good as to send him of its being intended to keep the birth-day of the Prince Regent on the 17th instant, and that his Royal Highness will hold a Drawing-room on that day at Buckingham House.

The postscript to the note has reference to a carriage entrance into St. James's Park, through a gateway, from which are excluded all other carriages, unless the owners have some personal privilege, or hold some station, giving them the claim to it. This seems a small detail on paper; but it may serve to

illustrate that remark in Burke's speech on economical reform and retrenchment, where, in the midst of his pruning, he is still for retaining those stations intended, as he says, "for the public decorum, and for preserving the grace and majesty of a great people. Since being in England, I have chanced to hear a gentleman of consideration give expression to regrets at having resigned a situation in the household of the Queen—simply because it had lost his carriage the privilege of going to Levees and Drawing-rooms by Constitution Hill! I add, that to Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, the privilege is convenient, from the multitude of carriages which, on these occasions, throng other approaches to the Palace, and the consequent delay in their arrival which would otherwise be occasioned.

June 7. * * * * * * * * of the diplomatic corps, paid me a visit. He talked on several subjects. He thinks there is something in the wind about a change of Ministry. He said that the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Bessborough, and the Earl of Darlington, all Whigs, dined with the Prince Regent yesterday, a circumstance that has not occurred for a long time before. It seems that the Duke of Bedford was at Brighton lately, where he had gone for the benefit of

his health. The Prince being there, sent a message to inquire how he was. In return, the Duke called at the Pavilion and inscribed his name in the Prince's book. No intercourse had, for some years, passed between the parties. On coming to town, the Prince sent for the Duke and kept him in conversation a couple of hours at Carlton House, saying, as he was going away, that he had not for a long time been so happy as in the renewal of a friendship which he had formerly prized so much. He afterwards gave him a special invitation to dinner, joining with him the friends above-named. My visitor exercised his in genuity for a key to all this, which, he said, excites attention. He summed up with saying, that if no general change be in contemplation just now, which, however, he rather inclined to believe, the Prince must design to give some of his Ministers "the fidgets," possibly from having been thwarted in some of his wishes; and, as he also assured me that the affair was a topic in high circles, and believed in some of them not to be without meaning, I make a note of what he said.

But by as much as I can see, the present Ministry appears to be as strong throughout the country, as in Parliament. To me, there appear no signs of change,

and it is so that I write to my Government. The prudence and firmness of Lord Liverpool as Premier seem pledges for the stability of the Ministry; not to speak of the weight it acquired by being the Ministry in power when Napoleon was overthrown. It was to this effect that I talked to my visitor. I said also, that to my speculative observation, it seemed as if a Tory Administration was rather the most in unison with a country, the institutions of which were essentially aristocratical and monarchical; just as in the United States, where our constitution began with the words "We the People," where suffrage was nearly universal, and nearly every office elective, or depending on the issue of elections, Democratic Administration seemed the most natural. My visitor and I discoursed of these things in good part; he a Monarchist; I a Republican. [But "*The Whigs are as aristocratical as the Tories,*" said an English friend of the writer, in Paris, in 1868, in commenting on this passage, in the volume from which this is republished."—ED.]

June 9. We were at a rout at Mrs. Henry Baring's last night, Berkeley Square.

* * * *, an American present, bore hard upon the United States. What was said was little to the

advantage of the head or heart of the speaker. I will not repeat or comment upon it. It is the first instance of the kind I have yet met with from an American in England; and let it be charitably hoped that they were only sallies of the moment.—[It is to be sincerely hoped that this sentiment of the author may have been as well founded, as it is certainly charitable and amiable. In the enormous number of Americans now annually over-running, and overwhelming, all parts of Europe (not always the best specimens of our countrymen, but too often from among those having the *single* recommendation—if such be a recommendation!—of "plenty of money"), and among some of those who have chosen to take up their permanent residence abroad, is there not room to apprehend that the virtue of patriotism, generally supposed to be inherent in the human heart, under all forms of government—or even under *none*, as with the very Indian—is not always in the ascendant?

If we have lived to witness, what we now see, at the end of the first century of our existence, and if this sort of expatriation is to continue at the same rate, what, it may be asked, is to be its effect, at the end of another century, upon the estimate of our national character *abroad?* At home, we can of

course do without those who prefer other countries to their own, which they have a right to do if they choose, but it is to be very much regretted that so many of our people give such erroneous impressions of the great country in which they were born, with reference to all those high and noble qualities which have made us, as a people, what we are. It is said that even a portion of the Communists of Paris, two years ago, were headed by an American!—ED.]

June 10. Last night we went to Covent Garden to see Mrs. Siddons in Lady Randolph. Her fame had been familiar to me from youth; and her appearance upon the stage is still imposing, I may say superb; though of late years she has ceased to act, almost entirely. Her enunciation was highly eloquent and impressive. Charles Kemble played young Norval; Macready, Glenalvon; and Young, the Stranger. Altogether, it was a dramatic treat.

June 13. Desiring to see Lord Castlereagh on the business of the West India Trade, I had an interview with him to-day, the 13th, after an exchange of notes. It was the mode in which all official interviews between us were appointed, unless meeting in society, we arranged them verbally.

I began by reminding him of the point at which

the discussions respecting the West-India Trade had left off at the negotiation between our two Governments last autumn, and by assuring him of the President's earnest desire to see the trade opened upon a footing of entire and liberal reciprocity, rather than suffer it to stagnate; or be crippled by countervailing laws and regulations. In this spirit I was instructed to offer a projet which had been carefully drawn up upon the basis of a compromise between the pretensions of the two countries, and which would be found to fall in so fully with the propositions of Great Britain in some respects, and make such an approximation to them in others, that a hope was cherished by my Government of its proving acceptable.

In particular, it would be found to adopt the description of naval stores and lumber, as articles to be exported from the United States, upon which the British Plenipotentiaries had themselves insisted last autumn; confining the former to pitch, tar, and turpentine, and the latter to staves, heading, and shingles; contrary to the more enlarged signification, which it had been the desire of Mr. Gallatin and myself to give to the list. That it acquiesced also in the exclusion of all salted provisions, including the

important article of fish. That it moreover came wholly into the British views in consenting to the exclusion of sugar and coffee, as articles to be imported into the United States directly from the British West Indies; it being understood that the above traffic was to be open upon equal terms, in all respects, to American and British vessels.

In return for such an accommodation to the colonial views of Great Britain, the projet asked on our side, that the list of articles to be exported from the United States to the West Indies, should be the same as to Bermuda, and to the British North American Colonies; that the articles to be exported to the United States, should be confined to such as were of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the above islands or colonies; and that the same duties and no more, should be payable on importations from the United States into the West Indies, whether the articles were brought directly or indirectly, as on similar articles imported into the West Indies from any foreign country; or from any of the British Colonies.

With this outline of the substantial part of its contents, I handed his Lordship a copy of the projet.

The discussions between the Plenipotentiaries of

the two Governments last autumn, having been ample on the matters which the projet embraced, I thought that nothing was likely to be gained by leaving room for the hope that any of its essential provisions would be departed from; and I, therefore, deemed it best to say with frankness in the first instance, that, as it was offered, so it was to be taken; as my present instructions would not allow me to deviate from it, unless on points verbal or otherwise immaterial.

He received it with an assurance that a full and candid consideration would be given to the subject. The pressure of parliamentary business might, he said, delay an attention to it perhaps for some weeks; but that it should be taken up at as early a day as practicable. I said that every necessary object would be attained on our side, if a decision were communicated to me in time to be made known to my Government before the meeting of Congress, which would take place early in December. I added, that should our propositions prove acceptable, I was empowered to make them supplementary to the convention of the 20th of October, which Mr. Gallatin and I had signed with the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain; subject always to the ratification of the Senate of the United States.

There were no other express matters of business necessary to be gone into at this interview; but before it ended, I adverted to other things. Amongst them, the state of the Foreign Enlistment Bill in the House of Commons; which his Lordship gave me to understand left no doubt of its becoming a law; and next, the rumours about Cuba. On the latter, I remarked, that I should be under no anxiety, if the newspapers had not ascribed to the Duke of San Carlos, the declaration that it was about to be added to his Majesty's colonial dominions in America; but I hoped the newspapers were mistaken! His Lordship replied, that the Duke of San Carlos probably knew as little of it as he did.

The Foreign Enlistment Bill, finally, did pass both Houses of Parliament, but not without strong opposition, on the ground of trenching too much on the regular laws of England, and on public law; and as not called for by England's treaty with Spain, or any of her international duties or obligations.

June 15. Dined at the Russian Ambassador's. We had, among others, Mr. and Mrs. Dashkoff, lately arrived from the United States, where Mr. Dashkoff was Minister Plenipotentiary from Russia. Went next to a rout at the Persian Ambassador's in

Charles Street, Berkeley Square, where five hundred were present; and afterwards to a party at Lansdowne House, more agreeable from being smaller.

June 17. Attended the Prince Regent's drawing-room. It was extremely full; three thousand were said to have been there. It was a birth-day celebration, though not the actual anniversary, as mentioned formerly.

I presented General Harper, of Maryland, and late of the United States Senate, to the Prince Regent; also to the Duke of Kent, and the Princess Augusta; happy to have done so in the case of this distinguished American.

The Duke and Duchess of Bedford, the Duke of Grafton, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Earl Grosvenor, were present; which, to those inclined to think any change of Ministry in contemplation, as * * * * * ten days ago, might be taken as omens; the first two not having been at Court for years, it is said, and the others coming very seldom.

At seven, I went to the large dinner given by Lord Castlereagh to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, in celebration of the day. France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Saxony, Wirtemberg, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sar-

dinia, and some of the smaller Courts, were represented at the table, each Ambassador and Minister being in the diplomatic dress of his country. There were also present, two Princes of Hesse; Count Woronzoff; General Woronzoff, the latter commander-in-chief of the late Russian army of occupation in France; Sir Gore Ouseley, late Ambassador from England to Persia; Mr. Bagot, late British Minister at Washington; Mr. Lamb, late British Minister at Munich; Mr. Frere, the same at Madrid; Mr. Thornton, the same at Rio Janeiro; Mr. Onis, late Spanish Minister at Washington; Lord Clanwilliam, Mr. Planta, Mr. Morier, and Mr. Hamilton. Altogether, there was an assemblage of functionaries from other nations, and of British Foreign Ministers returned from service abroad, or at home on leave, larger than I had before seen on any similar occasion in England.

We went to dinner a little before eight, according to the precedence observed at entertainments of this nature. At table, I had on my left the Saxon Minister, Baron Just. On my right was Baron Fagel, Ambassador from the Netherlands. Next to him sat Lord Castlereagh, who, on this occasion, took the middle of his table. On his right was

Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador; and next to him Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian. Amidst the profusion of plate for such a dinner, some of it, I observed, had the royal arms, but generally those of his Lordship's family. The table ornaments, abundant light, and variegated national costumes, presented, as we took our seats, an array very striking. It might have given the idea of an European Congress for that evening, to which the United States had been also invited.

Baron Just inquired of me for Mr. Adams, whom he had known well, and of whom he spoke highly. He said that he knew the politics of all Europe. He described his letter to our Minister at Madrid, on the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, as one of great ability; and asked whether, after that transaction, followed up by adding the Floridas to our dominion, I did not suppose England would be likely to aim at obtaining Cuba from Spain, if she had not already, of which there were strong rumours? This question was in a tone not to carry it beyond my ear. *Mr. Onis* sat on the left of Baron Just, and I said to the latter that I would be happy if he would make that inquiry of his neighbour, and favour me with the result. The Baron did, carrying it off well.

Mr. Onis said, just loud enough for me to hear, "The American Minister may feel easy: Spain has not ceded Cuba to England, and does not mean to"—an item of information which, however informally derived, it may be imagined the American Minister imparted to his Government in due time afterwards.

And now I will allude to an incident which also couples itself with the "American Minister," yet in a light so truly national that he must not drop it from this day's memorandum.

After the principal courses were over, and the single toast had been given by Lord Castlereagh, viz. "His Royal Highness the Prince Regent," without further word, the company all rising in due form as he gave it, conversation opened between his lordship and Baron Fagel on the state of tranquillity which now reigned in Europe. It was remarked by them, how happily it contrasted with the bloody wars which had so recently raged; and how interesting was the spectacle of beholding Ambassadors and Ministers from all Europe assembled in amity and peace at that table, instead of being engaged in the work of counteracting each other, as all had so lately been doing, in hostile camps and cabinets. Sitting

next to Baron Fagel, the opportunity was afforded me of sharing a little in this conversation. At its point of chief interest, Lord Castlereagh, bending forward so as to give me his voice, said, "Yes; and may the happy tranquillity we are speaking of long continue! Europe requires repose. Each state has had enough of war, and enough of glory, and ought to be content." Here he paused an instant, but, resuming, he proceeded, "And you too, YOU of America, Mr. Rush, ought also to be satisfied; YOU left off very well, and ought to wish for nothing but a continuance of peace."

I felt this delicately-conveyed compliment to my country. He knew that our war with Britain had terminated in victory on our side, by sea and land. I could not fail to perceive that the compliment passed in undertones along the table—the side, at least, on which I was—though heard at first only by the few near Lord Castlereagh. Acceptable to me, it bespoke conscious patriotism in him. He felt that Britain's ample renown in arms could spare the compliment to the free and martial race she founded in America; therefore, with the manly grace belonging to him, he uttered it, the representatives of the crowned heads of Europe sitting by as his guests.

It was high official courtesy, and I record it with as much pleasure as it gave me.

Rising from table, the company returned to the drawing-rooms, where coffee was handed, and conversation continued in the harmonious feeling of the day. In an hour all adjourned to Prince Esterhazy's, with a ball at whose house the festivities of this birthday celebration wound up. The Prince Regent was at it, the ladies of all the Ambassadors and Ministers, with a large assemblage in addition.

CHAPTER VII.

PARTY AT CARLTON HOUSE.—CONVERSATION ABOUT CUBA.—DINNER AT MR. GEORGE PHILLIPS'S.—DINNER AT MR. TRAIL'S.—THE BOX PRESENTED BY THE EARL OF BUCHAN TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.—NOTE FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH ON SPECIAL AUDIENCES OF THE PRINCE REGENT.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S.—LETTER TO MR. GALLATIN.—CUBA.—THE FLORIDA TREATY.—THE WEST INDIA TRADE.—PARTY AT GROSVENOR HOUSE.—ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN STEAMSHIP SAVANNAH AT LIVERPOOL.

JUNE 19. Went to Carlton House last night. The lower rooms were full, foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, Members of the Cabinet, Members of Parliament, and numerous official and titled persons, forming the company. Conversed half an hour with Lord Liverpool and Lord Harrowby; with the latter on Gibbon's style, and with both about Bonaparte. Neither of them admired his character. They spoke as British statesmen who had been long opposed to him. Nor did I think that they said too much of his inordinate ambition. Taking all his career into view, they agreed that wanton cruelty could not be made out against him.

Finding myself in accidental conversation with

two members of the Cabinet, the Premier and the President of the Council, I improved the opportunity by alluding to Cuba. I said to Lord Liverpool I was glad to infer, from some transient words falling from Lord Castlereagh, that the newspaper rumours of that island being about to change owners were not to be regarded. He replied that newspaper rumours here, as with us probably, were often very idle; and that if Government undertook to notice them all, it would have its hands full. Although he was no more explicit than this, I make the same inference from his words as from Lord Castlereagh's; and am therefore still disposed, in the language of Mr. Onis, to "feel easy." I catch a general sentiment in the diplomatic corps, that none of the great powers would desire to see Cuba ceded to England, considering the vastness of her colonial dominion already; and I cannot think that her Ministers would wish to go against this general sentiment, to say nothing of the objections which the United States would naturally have to the measure. This is the tone in which I have written to my Government so far upon this subject; and, with my present knowledge and impressions, I shall continue it.

June 20. Dined at Mr. George Phillips's yester-

day, Member of the House of Commons, Mount Street. We had Mr. Brougham, Mr. Cavendish, Mr. Chinnery, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Abercrombie, and other Members of Parliament; and among the ladies Mrs. Erskine and Lady Cork. The evening passed off well. Mr. Brougham contributed largely to the conversation. He talked with his usual animation and promptness. Nothing could be alluded to which he did not seem to know, or any person mentioned of whom he was ignorant. He told anecdotes of public men, rapidly glancing at things which seemed to spring up in his memory after he began. As, for example, speaking of Lord Chancellor Eldon (*bags* they call him, said he, great a man as he is), and then went on with his anecdote. So when he happened to have the Vice-Chancellor in hand (and he, what should they call *him* but *reticule*), and after thus throwing him also into a parenthesis, proceeded with his narrative.

June 21. Dined at Mr. Trail's, Upper Brook Street. We had the Earl of Buchan (to whose letter, introducing him to me, Lord Erskine alluded at the Duchess of Cumberland's), Mr. David Montagu Erskine, Mrs. Erskine, Miss Erskine, and others.

With Lord Buchan, the incident of the lost letter, heretofore referred to by Lord Erskine, was not forgotten in our conversation. He was good enough to speak kindly of my Father, saying, besides other things grateful to a son, that he had known him in Scotland, whilst there to receive his education, and been in correspondence with him nearly fifty years; and that nothing struck him more than the identity of character kept up throughout all his letters. He regretted the loss of the "box," all the circumstances of which I explained.

He spoke of General Washington, as others present did, paying tributes to his great name. He said that he was related to him through the maternal stock, Washington's mother, like his own, being of the Fairfaxes'. The Washington family, from which the General sprung, he added, was related to the family of Earl Ferrers. Cordial things were said of our country by several of the company. Mrs. Erskine was born there; and it was delightful to find, doubly so to those who remembered her young and beautiful as Miss Cadwalader of Philadelphia, that though a good Englishwoman, which her marriage made a duty, she had a heart not to forget her native land.

This estimable woman died not long since at one of the German Courts, as Lady Erskine, her husband, Lord Erskine, then being British Minister there.

The "box" alluded to, was one made out of the oak that sheltered Wallace after the battle of Falkirk. It had been presented to General Washington by the Earl of Buchan, with a request that the former would give it at his decease, to the man in his country who should appear to merit it best. General Washington did not decide that question; but in his will restored it to the Earl, with expressions of respect and thankfulness. His Lordship, having it again, sent it to my Father, so long his American correspondent. The gentleman charged to convey it to him from Scotland, had the misfortune to lose it while coming to Philadelphia from New York, where he landed. The coach was robbed during the night, and his trunk, which contained the "box," carried off. Every effort was made to regain it, but in vain.

June 23. Mr. and Mrs. Dashkoff, General and Mrs. Harper, Miss Caton, Mr. John Adams Smith, and others, dine with us. Conversation runs on the United States and England; Mr. Dashkoff, appa-

rently full of good feeling towards the United States, produced by his residence among us as Minister from Russia; and General Harper giving out remarks on what has struck him in England, showing his enlightened and discriminating mind.

June 25. Dined yesterday at the Duke of Wellington's. Besides the Duke and Duchess, we had General and Mrs. Harper, Mr. Percy, Mr. Gerald Wellesley—a brother of the Duke, and two gentlemen from the Continent. The Duke had written me a courteous note, to say that General and Mrs. Harper were to dine with him, and asking my wife and self to meet them at short notice; which we were the more happy to do, as it bespoke a dinner of less form. It was at Apsley House.

A colossal statue of Bonaparte, presented to the Duke by the King of France, stands in the hall. In the library there was also a full length painting of him, said to be an excellent likeness; and, among other busts in the same room, one of Cicero, which the Duke spoke of as an original, as far as could be ascertained. It was of marble, showing the marks of time. The blemish, *cicer*, was observable on the face. In the drawing-room was a likeness of Shakspeare, taken from a picture, believed to be an origi-

nal, found many years ago in an old alehouse in the neighbourhood of Stratford-upon-Avon, under the paper on the wall.

As it devolved upon me to take the Duchess in to dinner, the honour of sitting next to her at table was also mine. She told anecdotes of Madame de Stäel, whom she had known while the Duke was Ambassador at Paris after Bonaparte's overthrow. They were very characteristic of that remarkable woman, whose pen handled Napoleon in a degree only second to the Duke's sword.

The Duke took the head of his table. The Duchess was opposite. The Duke talked with the ease which a long intercourse with the world in its greatest circles gives. The quantity of food necessary for soldiers being spoken of, he said that he had commanded them of many different nations, and never knew any that could long subsist, under the trials of a campaign, with less than two pounds a-day, whether bread of some kind altogether, or a mixture of bread with animal food; and added, that this applied to the native troops of India, who required their two pounds of rice in the twenty-four hours. Of the population of India then subject to England, he remarked, that it had always seemed to him over-

rated; he could not pretend to accuracy, but he doubted if it exceeded twenty millions. This struck me very much, having been under the more prevalent belief that it was greatly beyond that amount. Perhaps there might be seen in the remark a characteristic of the Duke's mind, not to be led away by exaggerations. More conversation passed, which had the greater charm from the company being small, and without ceremony, beyond that intrinsically belonging to the table of such a man. In the course of it, a newspaper paragraph was alluded to, which mentioned a curious spectacle lately witnessed at tho seat of the Marquis of Anglesea. One of the Marquis's brothers, who was a captain in the navy, Lord Uxbridge, the Marquis's son, and also one of his daughters, being all at his country seat, it was stated that the Marquis had but one leg, his brother but one arm, that his son was on crutches from a wound in the knee, and that his daughter had lost her right hand whilst attending her husband at one of the battles in Spain. The Duke said it was not true that the lady had lost her hand. The rest he believed was. We had a Spanish ham on the table. It is a common remark, that each country thinks it has the best hams, but the Spanish seem preferred

in England at luxurious dinners—they say from being fed on chestnuts. [And sweet acorns, says a friend, which makes the Grenada hams so delicious.—ED.]

At coffee in the drawing-room, the social tone seemed to relax even more agreeably. We were shown by the Duchess a set of French breakfast china belonging to Joseph Bonaparte while King of Spain, which the Duke took in one of his campaigns; and under such hot pursuit that grounds were still in the coffee-pot and warm. Anecdotes growing out of this little incident were told, showing the risks which royalty has to run in war; so also in Pompey's days, when Cæsar took his camp, he found sideboards loaded with plate, all ready for a festival to celebrate the victory Pompey had expected. The interest of the evening increased when General Harper and the Duke got upon Bonaparte's campaign to Moscow. My countryman was fond of military history, and no tyro in it. It became him indeed to speak cautiously before the Duke, as he did; but his knowledge was subservient towards drawing out a little this great commander. I was of the knot where the conversation was going on; it touched things and characters belonging to the late European wars generally.

Amongst names brought up, was that of the Archduke Charles of Austria. General Harper spoke favourably of him, though with guards to leave room for the Duke's opinion. The Duke took up the commendation of him decidedly. As regarded military science, he said that he probably had more than any General in Europe; there were reasons why he had not succeeded against Bonaparte as fully as he otherwise would have done; one perhaps was, from overrating him; but it was chiefly from being subject to fits, which were apt to come upon him after he had been fighting a few hours. His powers then failed him—great as they otherwise were. It was to this effect he spoke of him. Of the virtuous character and good intentions of the Emperor of Austria he spoke in the highest terms.

It was in this manner the evening passed. I had seen and conversed with the Duke frequently before; but not so fully, or when reserve had so much worn off. In his whole conversation there was a simplicity delightful to witness in a man whose name in arms surpasses Marlborough's by the amount and splendour of his deeds, both in Asia and Europe; whose knowledge is so extensive and various; and to whose statesmanship, the powers of Europe have deferred as

much as to his military renown; of whom it can be said also, in a sphere of praise still higher, that, tried by the ordinary standards of great men, his career has been unusually pure; no improper ambition; no corruption of any kind; no intrigue; no discontent; no double dealing, ever chargeable upon him; on the contrary, everything honest, straightforward, and brave, whilst serving his country, no matter where or how. Such fame is rare. Britain has a right to be proud of it, and all nations may respect it. Before coming away, he invited my wife and myself to visit him at his country estate, Strathfieldsaye.

June 29. Prince Esterhazy visits me. Says that by all his information, obtained here or from Madrid, there is no truth in the rumour of the cession of Cuba to England; he finds it discredited by those likely to be best informed. I agree with him in his disbelief, and in talking the subject over, our reasons are much the same.

July 2. Went to a party at Grosvenor House last night; the rooms filled and looking as before. Go afterwards to the Spanish Ambassador's. Some Cabinet Ministers are there, and most of the Diplomatic Corps. Owing to the crowd and other hindrances, I collected no information for Mr. Gallatin.

Made attempts, but was cut off from all opportunities.

July 3. In the course of a despatch to the Secretary of State of this date, I mention that the American steam-ship Savannah, Captain Rogers, arrived at Liverpool on the 20th of last month, to the surprise of the people of that city, as she came up the river under the power of steam. She is a vessel of above three hundred tons burden, as Captain Rogers, who has been to see me, states; and is the first that has crossed the ocean by steam. He also stated that she worked with great ease and safety on the voyage, and used her steam full eighteen days. Her passage was twenty-six days, the weather, in general, having been very unfavourable; besides that she was detained five days in the Irish Channel until she could get fresh coal, her own giving out when she entered the channel. He had laid in fifteen hundred bushels. Her engine is equal to a seventy-two-horse power, and acts horizontally. Her wheels are on the sides, made of iron, and removable at pleasure. These particulars he mentioned, which I repeated in my despatch.

CHAPTER VIII.

VISIT TO HOLKHAM, THE ESTATE OF MR. COKE, NORFOLK COUNTY.—THE SHEEP-SHEARING.—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—ENTERTAINMENT AT CARLTON HOUSE.—LORD CASTLEREAGH SPEAKS OF THE FLORIDA TREATY.—WHAT HE AFTERWARDS SAYS ON THAT SUBJECT, AND ON THE CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER, AT THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR'S.

JULY 12. Yesterday I returned from a visit to Mr. Coke, of Holkham, Norfolk county.* He invited me last year; but unable, from duties under an approaching negotiation, to leave town at that time, I was forced to decline, which gave me double pleasure in accepting this year. I met a large company. We had the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Huntingfield, Sir Henry Fane, Sir Henry Erne, Sir Jacob Astley, Sir John Sinclair, Sir William Bolton, General Fitzroy, Captain Edgell of the navy, Mr. Wilbraham of Cheshire, Mr. Beckford of Suffolk, Mr. Maude of Yorkshire, Mr. Beaumont of the House of Commons, Dr. Rigby, Mr. Owen, Mr. Bennett, Sir Robert Harland, the Marquis of Tavistock, Lord Barrington, the Earl of Bradford, Lord Nugent,

* Afterwards Earl of Leicester.

and many others, whose names I cannot recall. Of my countrymen, there were General Harper of Maryland, General Boyd of Boston, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Patterson of Baltimore, Mr. Somerville of Maryland, and Mr. Ogle Tayloe of Virginia, the latter an attaché to my legation.

Holkham is among the best cultivated estates in England. Of the entire system of agriculture by which Mr. Coke has so greatly improved it, as well as benefitted England by his example of good farming during more than forty years, thus increasing the public wealth as well as his own, I am not qualified to speak properly. The whole has been well described by Dr. Rigby, of Norwich, in his excellent little work, entitled "Holkham and its Agriculture;" but I may note in general terms a few of the things which struck me as an American and stranger, in my visit of a week to this celebrated estate.

The occasion on which we were assembled, was called "The Sheep-shearing." It was the forty-third anniversary of this attractive festival; attractive even to Englishmen, accustomed as they are to agricultural beauty, and to fine old country homesteads, established and maintained throughout ages, in so many different parts of England. The term "Sheep-

shearing" conveys, by itself, but a limited idea of what is witnessed at Holkham. The operations embrace every thing connected with agriculture in the broadest sense; such as, an inspection of all the farms which make up the Holkham estate, with the modes of tillage practised on each for all varieties of crops; an exhibition of cattle, with the modes of feeding and keeping them; ploughing matches; haymaking; a display of agricultural implements, and modes of using them; the visiting of various out-buildings, stables, and so on, best adapted to good farming, and the rearing and care of horses and stock; with much more that I am unable to specify. Sheep-shearing there was, indeed, but it was only one item in this full round of practical agriculture. The whole lasted three days, occupying the morning of each, until dinner-time, at about five o'clock. The shearing of sheep was the closing operation of the third day.

Such is the general scene, as far as agriculture is concerned, which is its primary object. Mr. Coke explains to his guests and friends, all his processes and results. This is done without form, in conversations on his grounds, or at the dinner-table; and, even more impressively, on horseback. Then it is that you have more of the port of the old English country

gentleman, as he rides from field to field, and farm to farm, attended by his friends, who are also mounted. From these, also, he invites inquiry and criticism; and, from those agricultural in their pursuits, a communication of their modes of farming, that results may be compared, and truth the better arrived at, in this great science.

Of the social scene which goes hand in hand with it all, I hardly dare trust myself to speak, lest I should seem to exaggerate. The number of Mr. Coke's guests, meaning those lodged at his mansion, was, I believe, about fifty, comprehending those I have named and others, as I could scarcely know all in a visit of a week. But his friends and neighbours of the county of Norfolk, and other country gentlemen and visitors from parts of England farther off, arriving every morning after breakfast in carriages or on horseback, during the continuance of the scene, under invitations from Mr. Coke to be present at it and stay to dinner, amounted to about six hundred each day. On the second day I was informed that, including the home guests, covers were laid down for six hundred and fifty. All were comfortably accommodated, and fared sumptuously. Holkham House covers an acre of ground. Looking at it on one of

the mornings with the Duke of Bedford and others, and viewing its imposing centre, from which proceed four wings connected by corridors, the general conjecture seemed to be that such an edifice could scarcely be built at the present day for less than half a million of pounds sterling. It was built, I understood, in the middle or early part of the last century, by Lord Leicester, who was many years in Italy, where he studied the models upon which, after his return to England, it was erected.

Of the furniture in such a mansion, the paintings, tapestry, mirrors, rural ornaments, and all else, it need but be said that it is adapted to the mansion. The library, of many thousand volumes, is a treasure; and (shall I tell it?) *there*, on one of the days when I entered it, during a short interval between the morning excursions and the dinner hour, did I catch stragglers of the home guests, *country* gentlemen too, who had not been out to the fields or farms at all, though they had come all the way to Holkham to attend the sheep-shearing. And no wonder! In part, they were of the younger portion of the guests (*Young-uns*, as Mr. Coke slyly said in jeering them), not long from the University; so recently, that the love of practically inspecting wheat-fields, even if

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they had yielded twice twelve combs the acre, or of seeing turnips drilled in ridges on the Northumberland method, or of walking upon lawns of grass produced by *dotting*, had not yet so deadened classical ardour, as to keep them from stealing off to where they could find curious editions of Pliny, and Ovid, and the Georgics; or, if they liked Italian better, lay their hands on the Boccaccio which Cosmo de Medici sent as a present to Alphonso, King of Naples; or turn to something else seducing in literature. Mr. Coke was, I believe, himself a Cambridge man. He has been forty years in Parliament, and to this day proclaims that he voted on the side of America during the war of our revolution throughout the whole contest; even at a time when only two or three others in the House of Commons, besides himself, continued to stand up for our cause.

On the first day after my arrival, the company at dinner consisted of the home guests only, the agricultural scenes not beginning until the day following. Among other massive plate upon the table was a large fabric of silver in the form of an urn, highly ornamented. It stood conspicuously as the centre-piece, and was a present to Mr. Coke by the inhabitants of Norfolk, as a mark of their gratitude for the good he

had done the county, by improving the condition of its agriculture, and contained appropriate emblems, and an inscription. Among the former was a representation of the mode of cultivating by drill; a Southdown sheep; a North Devon cow; and other figures illustrative of improvements in husbandry introduced or successfully practised by Mr. Coke. The inhabitants of the county having, at first, opposed many of the improvements, and especially on the ground that his innovations trenched upon the labour and comforts of the poor, the inscription embraced an acknowledgment of their error, in terms complimentary to him and very honourable to them. It was a beautiful trophy all round.

On the first of the festival days, the company in the statue-gallery, a very large room, amounted probably to a couple of hundred. All were accommodated at two tables. Mr. Coke presided at one; the Duke of Bedford at the other. It was my fortune to be at the former, and next to Mr. Coke. Throughout successive rooms, communicating with each other and with the statue-gallery, tables were laid for all the other guests; therefore, though none of the tables were in sight from our room, which opened to the others from doors at the end, voices could be heard from them all.

The dinner courses being finished, Mr. Coke rose to bid all his guests welcome, and express the pleasure he felt in seeing them at Holkham.

His first toast was, "LIVE AND LET LIVE." This was known to be applicable to his own system, which was to let his farms at moderate rents under leases not too long, and not be hard with his tenant; a system which, in the long run, had benefitted equally himself and his tenants.

The toast was received with rapturous applause from room to room; as the voices pealed through all, the effect was highly animating. It was not less so when the Duke of Bedford was given as a toast, with allusions by Mr. Coke to the services of his family in the cause of public liberty. The shouts that followed each toast, echoing through the apartments of this stately mansion, standing alone in the midst of a rural domain, and heard somewhat faintly in our statue-gallery from the distant rooms, but still heard, had something in them to fill the fancy. The whole scene seemed to recall baronial days, the "moated ramparts, embattled towers, and trophied halls." It brought back the remembrance of feudal banquets, as if here seen in alliance with modern freedom and refinements. So at least I felt. Others may have had

less of this feeling, or none of it, unless my own countrymen present. Perhaps more of the romance of English history is apt to linger about an American than an Englishman. To the former the whole is an abstraction, like ancient history, until he gets to England; then, Waterloo Bridge, built yesterday, and any vestige of the days of the Plantagenets are equally new to his senses. Saxon days, Norman days, and modern days, seem to burst upon him at once, and, for a while, all engross his thoughts together.

Mr. Coke gave my name as a toast, to make it the medium of friendly sentiments towards the United States, which he strongly expressed, and which were echoed from room to room in tones gratifying to me and to my countrymen. In the course of his remarks, he paid a tribute to the character of Washington. I rose to make my acknowledgments; and, in reference to his notice of Washington, I said, that it was indeed a name to which every American looked with as much of veneration as might be paid to a mortal, and that the manner in which it had just been alluded to, and received before so numerous and distinguished an assemblage in England, was a new proof that his fame was a part of history, and his

virtues the property of mankind. I spoke of Mr. Coke as the friend of America, whom we honoured as such, yet ever true to his own country whilst loving ours; and I asked permission to propose as a toast, "MR. COKE AND THE HOLKHAM AGRICULTURE," not merely as a high gratification to my own feelings, but from being sure, also, that my countrymen would all eagerly join in it. The toast was kindly received.

The Holkham estate commands in part a view of the sea, to which some of its boundaries extend. Although the sittings at dinner each day were not short, under the abundant topics and occasional speeches (happily none of them long) which the festivities drew out, there is yet so prolonged a twilight in England at this season, that a remnant of time was on hand for walks or drives, after rising from table. On leaving it one of the evenings, Mr. Coke invited me to a seat with him in his carriage. After our active campaign on horseback all the morning, and the exciting scene at the dinner-table during several hours, a quiet drive in the cool of the evening through beautiful scenery and grounds, with such a host, was a delightful recreation with which to close such a day, and fill up the measure of its agreeable recollections. We went in the direction of the sea. Still

full of the topics of the day, he could not speak but to impart information. He said that his timber, by careful planting, annually yielded almost as large a revenue as the whole of his estate when he first came to the possession of it. It was chiefly the chestnut and black Italian poplar that he planted,—sometimes other sorts, and always in quantities to replace, as each year came round, the number of acres annually deprived of timber. Time thus kept up the supply, planting keeping even pace with cutting down; a process the more striking to an American, in whose country timber, for the most part, is removed to get at the soil—instead of being grown as an agricultural crop, to yield its annual harvests. Something else he said that may deserve a memorandum. It was, that although banking along the sea-side was considered the hardest work done in Norfolk county by labouring men, those who followed it drank nothing but water; they had plenty of animal food, but found their strength fail them if they drank either beer or spirits.

As the chariot rolled on, we forgot agriculture in other and easy talk. He told anecdotes. We had been out an hour. Presently we approached the little town of Wells, near the sea,—a fishing town.

The wind freshened, and we drew up the glasses as night came on. He asked if I knew anything of * * * *. I replied that I did by rumour; it was a South Carolina story—a sad one. There, he said, in that little town, the person lives unknown to all. We stayed a few minutes in the town, and could hear, as darkness was closing around us, the surging of the waters on the shore. Seated again in the chariot, our familiar conversation was resumed. We were soon in view of Holkham House once more, the twinkling lights showing that its festivities were not yet all at an end. When we got in, it was past ten. The general dinner company had dispersed; but of the home guests, a number still remained in the drawing-rooms; some conversing in little knots, others seated at whist-tables. By eleven, most of them had dropped off to their bedrooms. The few left had a summons to supper in the statue gallery. Our table, to be sure, was of dimensions different from those at dinner; but we were headed by our host. Lord Nugent was of the small group, and well able to help keep the ball of conversation in motion to a late hour. It was in courtesy to me, that he made Commodore Perry, of our navy, one of his topics. He said that, when travelling in Italy, he

had met him, and on his invitation, took a little trip with him from one of the ports in his frigate—then the Java. He was struck with his chivalrous character; and, for his seamanship, mentioned this incident: that whilst attempting to beat his frigate through the Straits of Gibraltar, a British frigate was close in view. Some of the officers in the latter, not thinking it could be done, as the wind set, made bets upon the issue. The Java did it handsomely, which drew loud hurrahs from the winners on the English deck. Midnight passed before we went to bed.

The foregoing comprise some of the recollections of my visit. They give but an inadequate description of the interest and beauty of the whole scene. Of the manner in which Mr. Coke dispensed the hospitalities of the week, it would be impossible to say too much. All received from him the greatest attention and kindness. His landed property in Norfolk comprehends, I understood, more than thirty thousand acres, and he has estates in other parts of England. His income from the whole is rated, I believe, at £60,000 sterling a year, going higher when agricultural prices are high. On one of the days we were shown through all the offices of the basement

storey of the house, and taken into the cellars. The latter were filled with the abundant and various stores and wines to have been expected at a country homestead in England, long the seat of that species of hospitality where it would be hard to decide whether the eye is most struck with what is munificent, or the heart with what is kind. I had reason to know that, at Christmas and other seasons devoted to country festivities in England, although Holkham House was not indeed filled as I lately saw it, its hospitalities were bravely kept up. Mr. Blakie, the steward of Mr. Coke, informed us that the annual cost of malt liquors used for the entire Holkham establishment, including the working people out of doors, as well as servants of the household, was £3000. This included the taxes upon it. The enclosure round the Park is ten miles in extent. The arrangement and beauty of the gardens, and extent and productiveness of the kitchen garden, may be conceived better than I could describe them.

As to field sports, fox-hounds are no longer kept, Mr. Coke having given them up in the early part of his life. But as for game, that pursuit goes on, *con amore*, as may be inferred when I venture to repeat what he told me; viz., that a few years ago, himself

and friends had shot upon his grounds during the shooting season, twelve thousand rabbits and three thousand hares, with the full proportion of pheasants and partridges.

Here I must end my little record of the Holkham Sheep-shearing. It has been faithfully but imperfectly made from notes taken on my return from it. Excellent as the Holkham agriculture was reputed to be in its day, what have not been the intermediate improvements? "SCIENCE WITH PRACTICE," to take the appropriate motto of the Agricultural Society, now established and in operation for all England, instead of letting agriculture depend only on the local societies as formerly, seems to have been working almost the same proportional results for the productiveness of the soil of late years in that country, that steam has been effecting in commerce and the mechanic arts, there, and everywhere. May other countries profit by her example in agriculture—the great foundation of the world's wealth, and which, under growing improvements, seems to give promise on grounds not irrational, that Britain's home dominions may sustain a population of eighty or even a hundred millions a century hence, more easily than thirty millions now. But, no matter what the sub-

sequent advancement of English agriculture or its results, Mr. Coke will ever take honourable rank among the pioneers in the great work. Come what will in the future, the "Holkham Sheep-shearings" will live in English rural annals. Long will tradition speak of them as uniting improvements in agriculture to an abundant, cordial, and joyous hospitality.

[The author's son cannot forego the opportunity, suggested here to put on record an imperfect acknowledgment of similar kindness recently extended to his family and himself, at a very agreeable mansion in Yorkshire. The visit, under a cordial invitation more than once given, one of several to other country seats, which they were unable to accept, included Sunday, and it is with especial reference to this feature that he would speak.

The day was wet and disagreeable, but the carriages were ordered immediately after breakfast for such of the guests and the family as chose to go to church—a pretty little English country church, of Saxon date, that Washington Irving might have envied—about two miles off. The writer was among those who went, with one of his daughters.

When it became time to read the first lesson, Lord H., the hospitable owner of the mansion,

quietly left his pew, and assisted the rector by reading it, doing so in a clear, distinct, and measured tone; reading also in turn the second lesson, and then as quietly resumed his seat in his pew. No one could fail to be struck, and most favourably impressed, with his devotional manner, and that of many of his guests, most of whom knelt reverentially in prayer, besides joining in the hymns. Yet Lord H. and they, were as pleasant and "jolly" at dinner (where, among other things, we had Madeira a hundred years old) as could be desired.

After dinner, as the evening advanced, the family and guests were invited into the library (rich in intellectual treasures, as was nearly every room in the house), where Lord and Lady H., the latter not in strong health, conducted the evening service; the servants, including some of those of the guests, being also present, and participating in the devotional exercises. The reverential and cultivated reading of Lord H., well known in the world of letters, and by his intellectual acquirements, could not fail to make itself again felt.

When the service was over, all returned across the hall to the drawing-room, where pleasant conversation and conversation games, photograph books, and

books of curious autographs, &c., &c., concluded the evening.

One of the company asked if "God save the Queen" would be in order at the piano, the prayer for Her Majesty recurring so often in the English service. Lord H. smiled, adding, simply, "We don't consider it a hymn."

And this is going on, more or less, all over "merrie England!" Surely it must tend to exalt the character of any people! Yet there are nations who spend Sunday evening at the theatre and in the ball room, and think it all right!

Fas est ab amicis *doceri.*—ED.]

July 13. A note from the Master of Ceremonies having informed me that the prorogation of Parliament takes place by the Prince Regent in person to-day at two o'clock, I go to the House of Lords to witness it. Forms were much the same as last year when Parliament was dissolved. Novelty, therefore, did not attract me, and I will not repeat the description; but, being notified of the ceremonial by an officer of the Royal Household, I attended, as did the other Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. A similar notice is given to them at the opening of Parliament, whenever the Sovereign attends in person.

July 16. Went with my wife to a fancy ball at Carlton House last night. The company consisted of probably more than a thousand. Dresses are worn *at the fancy* of the wearer; and accordingly the fashions of past ages and different nations are adopted. The effect is picturesque. A feudal baron of King John's time; a Crusader of the train of Richard Cœur de Lion; an English archer and French knight of the thirteenth century, the Black Prince himself, and a modern Tyrolese rifleman, may all be seen in the same group.

As to the ladies, one may be dressed like a Shepherdess of the Alps; another to personate the Maid of Orleans; a third, move in state under a full court dress of the days of Queen Elizabeth; a fourth be in character as the Lady Phillipa of Hainault; a fifth as a flower-girl, and so on, throughout an endless variety of characters. I am not meaning to say, with exactness, how portions of the company were dressed, but to give a general idea of the scene. If any of the characters last night violated the proprieties of the age into which they stepped, educated eyes would detect them; which obliged the groups of patrician *dramatis personæ*, to revive their antiquarian learning in the field of costume. It may be

inferred, that no cost was spared to meet the requisitions of this emulous scene at the domicile of an English Sovereign; and that among the many voluntary participants in it, resources of art and taste were sometimes drawn upon in ways to attract favourable notice. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, Members of the Cabinet, and other official persons, were dressed as usual. These or portions of them, appeared to be occupied in beholding the pageant; or, it may be, that some were freshening their historical recollections under these outward characteristics of some six hundred years ago, personified before their eyes in the royal apartments. Mr. Canning, with whom I talked, appeared to enjoy it all, with quite a zest; as did probably other grave Members of both Houses of Parliament, who were present in the usual dress for evening entertainments in the Court circles. And why not enjoy it? The Speaker of the House of Commons, in his address to the Prince Regent when the prorogation took place, had, only a day or two before, declared it to have been one of the longest and most arduous sessions known to the records of England; and is not recreation due after such labours?

Public men, however, think of public affairs at

all times, and last night was no exception. More than one member of the diplomatic corps asked me in whispers, if I felt sure that England had no hand in stopping the ratification of the Florida Treaty? I replied, that I was very unwilling to believe it. One of them said, that the rumours of the day were strong to that effect.

But why should the matter remain in doubt, when it might be made certain? Lord Castlereagh was present. See him when you would, he had always an ear for public affairs. I sought him in the glittering throng; but to be able to speak to a Minister of State at such a time in the way you desire, is not always easy: others seek him as well as yourself. There is always something to be said to the Foreign Secretary of a great nation, when the representatives of other nations, and his own official colleagues, surround him, even though it be at a fancy ball. Some go to such scenes with perhaps no other object than to put a question to him, better so asked, than under circumstances more formal: hence, you have to watch your chance. Mine came at last, when the entertainment was well nigh over. Then, after an introductory remark, I said to his Lordship, how much the interest of the evening would be increased to me,

if he would put it in my power to say to my Government, that it was through no wish of His Majesty's Government that delays occurred in the ratification of our treaty, that thus my own belief might be confirmed.

He replied, that the difficulties, of whatever nature they might be, rested with Spain entirely, for that England was doing nothing to delay the ratification; and that of this I might feel assured.

It was very satisfactory to me to come away with such an assurance from Lord Castlereagh. The pleasure of mingling in a scene otherwise attractive, would have been marred by any intimation to the contrary.

July 19. Went to Prince Esterhazy's last night, the entertainment being in honour of the birth-day of his Sovereign. The Prince Regent was there, and in compliment to the occasion wore the uniform of an Austrian Field-marshal, the Duke of Wellington doing the same. There were present also, the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duke and Duchess of Kent, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, the Princess Augusta, Prince Leopold, the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, and their ladies, and Lord and Lady Castlereagh, with several of the Cabinet Ministers

and their ladies; the company not being numerous, but of much distinction.

I had a conversation with Lord Castlereagh, more than usually interesting; for a notice of which, other incidents of the entertainment will be passed over.

I improved a convenient moment for approaching him, to express the pleasure I had derived from what he said at Carlton House a few evenings before, about the Florida Treaty.

He now remarked, with all friendliness of manner, that His Majesty's Government neither had done, nor would do, any thing whatever to prevent or retard its ratification.

I here renewed the expression of my satisfaction; telling him also, that I had already reported to my Government the assurance, transient and informal as it was, which he had given me at Carlton House.

He then recurred, of his own accord, to the affair of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. He remarked, that it had been a case of no common difficulty; the Cabinet had found it so, and he hoped that the proper inferences would be drawn by the Government of the United States, respecting the conciliatory dispositions of England on that occasion.

I replied, that I believed my Government would

not fail to draw the proper inferences, and that certainly I had not failed in making communications calculated to lead to them; for that here, on the spot, I had seen, and fully appreciated, the difficulties which encompassed His Majesty's Ministers; whose wisdom and firmness throughout that whole transaction, if I might presume to say so, I considered a blessing to both countries. He then added these words: That had the English Cabinet felt and acted otherwise than it did, such was the temper of Parliament, and such the feeling of the country, that he believed WAR MIGHT HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY HOLDING UP A FINGER; and he even thought that an address to the Crown might have been carried for one, BY NEARLY AN UNANIMOUS VOTE.

These words made their impression upon me. I thought them memorable at the time: I think so still. They were calmly but deliberately spoken. Lord Castlereagh was not a man to speak hastily. Always self-possessed, always firm and fearless, his judgment was the guide of his opinions, and his opinions the guide of his conduct, undaunted by opposition, in Parliament or out of it. Political foes conceded to him these qualities. What he said to me on this occasion, I have reasons for knowing he

said to others in effect, if not in words; and I wrote his words to my Government. The lapse of a quarter of a century ought not to diminish the feeling properly due to a British Ministry which, by its single will, resisting the nearly universal feeling of the two great parties of the kingdom, in all probability prevented a war; a war into which passion might have rushed, but for the preponderating calmness and reason in those who wielded at that epoch the executive power of England.

CHAPTER IX.

ORDER IN COUNCIL PROHIBITING THE EXPORTATION OF ARMS TO SPAIN—PARTY AT PRINCE LEOPOLD'S.—LETTER TO COLONEL TRUMBULL.—DINNER AT THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S.—THE RIVER THAMES, FROM WESTMINSTER BRIDGE TO THE COMMERCIAL DOCKS.

JULY 20. By an Order in Council passed last week, the exportation of gunpowder, saltpetre, or arms and ammunition of any description from the ports of Great Britain, to any ports within the dominion of the King of Spain, is prohibited. This interdict comes opportunely after the Foreign Enlistment Bill. It takes the ground, as far as it goes, of neutrality in substance, as well as name, between Spain and the Colonies; there having been an order in force for some time prohibiting the exportation of the same things to Spanish America.

July 23. Last night we were at Prince Leopold's —Marlborough House.* The Prince Regent and most of the Royal family were there; a great assemblage of nobility: the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, with many others of the Court circle.

* The late King of Belgium, Leopold I.

This Prince, consort of the late heiress presumptive to the throne, long in retirement after her death, returns to society, and Marlborough House, built for the great Duke of Marlborough, becomes his residence and scene of his hospitalities. Being there, for the first time, last night, I could not divest myself of the historical associations which belong to the house. The spacious hall is ornamented with paintings illustrative of the Duke's victories. Among them is the great battle of Hochstadt, where the French commander, Tallard, was taken; and where he, the Duke, and Prince Eugene, are all represented. In the principal drawing-room hangs a full-length portrait of the late Princess Charlotte, by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

One anecdote connected with the edifice is, that, when first erected, it so overshadowed St. James's Palace, which it adjoins, as to excite the jealousy of Queen Anne. Others are told, pointing to the supposed avarice of the Duke whilst it was building, which need not be repeated; the less, as in a conversation I had the honour to hold with the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, she spoke of Coxe's Life of Marlborough lately published, where the Duke's private correspondence, given with all apparent fidelity, does not seem to show any traces of the disposition to

avarice so long and generally imputed to him. Her Royal Highness spoke of Evelyn's Memoirs, a recent attractive publication which she had also been reading, and which she commended highly.

July 24. Yesterday Mr. Bourke, the Danish Minister, and Mrs. Bourke: Count Ludolf, Neapolitan Minister, and Countess Ludolf; Baron Langsdorff, Minister from Baden and Hesse; Baron Bulow, Prussian Chargé d'Affaires; General Cadwalader; Mr. David Parish, and Dr. Bollman; the three last of the United States, dine with us. Count Ludolf tells me that Sir Henry Wellesley, British Ambassador at Madrid, writes word to his Government that the Florida Treaty will be ratified. He also mentions a report that the Chevalier de Onis has been forbidden to enter Madrid; and informs me that affairs between Spain and Portugal remain unsettled, the former still refusing an adjustment upon the basis proposed by the Allied Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle.

July 28. I give place to a letter below, addressed to Colonel Trumbull, President of the Academy of Fine Arts in New York, relating to a full length portrait of Mr. West, President of the Royal Academy in London, by Sir Thomas Lawrence; towards the painting of which the New York Academy had asked

my superintendence. This I was happy to give, glad that so rising an institution in our country dedicated to the Fine Arts, should have been ambitious of obtaining the likeness of Mr. West, whom America claims as a native son. The letter may serve in some degree to show the nature and extent of the employments of the first portrait painter in England at that day.

London, July 28, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

It is with great concern I have to state, that the portrait of Mr. West still remains unfinished. Sir Thomas Lawrence left London for Aix-la-Chapelle, shortly after my communication to you in August last, with a view, I believe, to take the likeness of some of the Sovereigns of Europe, expected to assemble there. He proceeded thence to other parts of the Continent, and to this day has not got back to England. It is painful to me to inform you that Mr. West again lies ill, and that there are but feeble hopes of his permanent recovery. I understand that Sir Thomas says, the picture is sufficiently advanced in its essential points to be completed with every advantage, in the event of Mr. West's death; but on this subject I cannot at present speak with confi-

dence, and as little can I make inquiry of the venerable President himself. I cannot affirm, with accuracy, how many pictures were left by Sir Thomas in an unfinished state when he went away; but in such universal demand is his pencil in the leading classes throughout England, that I remember it was a current saying that he had begun more than a life of a hundred years would enable him to complete. These seem peculiarly strong reasons why the Academy at New York ought not to be among the disappointed, and I will cherish the hope that this is not to be the case.

As soon after Sir Thomas's return as I may find it practicable to obtain an interview with him, I will again write to you; and in the meantime have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

To J. Trumbull, Esquire, President of the Academy of Fine Arts, New York.

I add, that the picture was in the end, finished, and safely received by the Academy in New York.

July 29. Dine with the Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Leech. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Gloucester,

General Matthews, Sir Archibald Murray, the Marchioness of Downshire, Lady Clare, Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope, and others were of the company.

The Duke of Gloucester had been on a visit to Holkham since the sheep-shearing, and we spoke of it. He agreed to the description given of it by Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, namely, that "all Mr. Coke's farms seemed like horticulture upon a large scale;" and added that the Holkham estate could hardly be better described in a few words.

The Vice-Chancellor is among the many instances illustrating the democratical part of the British Constitution, as does the present Lord Chancellor; both these high functionaries, the latter uniting the highest honours of the State with those of the law, having risen to their posts without any aids from family, or fortune; relying upon nothing but their talents, industry, integrity, and unshaken perseverance.

August 6. Go to Deptford, Greenwich, and Blackheath; my main object being to visit the naval arsenal at Deptford in the vicinity; as I did fully.

Aug. 9. Go to the counting-house of Barings, Brothers, and Company, Bishopsgate-street. I am shown their orderly arrangements for business, the daily routine of which is under the direction of Mr.

Holland, an accomplished merchant, agreed by all to merit the confidence he enjoys from the great firm with which he is associated.

August 19. Go to St. Paul's, the present season allowing some few intervals for sight seeing. One of the Foreign Ministers told me soon after my arrival, that he had been eight years in London without seeing the inside of Westminster Abbey; declaring that he had never been able to command the time for it, other engagements always stepping in with prior claims—if not of business, those of ceremony, which he was not at liberty to forego.

August 20. Devote the day to visiting the London, West India, and East India Docks. The Secretary of Legation, Mr. John Adams Smith, was with me. Instead of going by land, we took a boat near Westminster Bridge, for the sake of going down the Thames. We passed under the other bridges that cross the route, viz., Waterloo, Blackfriars, and Southwark Bridges, got out at London Bridge, which you cannot safely shoot with a flowing tide, and took a fresh boat on the other side. This brought under our view all the shipping, boats, and craft of every description, moving about, or stationary, and the whole river population and scene. It was an immense panorama.

We had the Tower before us—that remnant of a feudal age, a thousand years ago, but now shorn of importance amidst the vast appearances of a commercial age. Below London Bridge, there was, for miles, a black forest of masts and spars. Most of the ships were at anchor, in solid tiers, in the stream, with lighters at hand to put in and take out cargoes; and thousands seemed to be at that work. The number of colliers struck me very much. There was no counting them. In some parts they seemed to choke up the river, and, although coasters, were stout, heavy, black looking vessels, square rigged. These vessels of themselves bespoke the preponderance of the home over the foreign trade of London, great as were the signs of the latter. Ships loaded with timber, seemed to come next in number. There was a Thames Police ship for the river Magistrates; and the hulk of another ship, fitted up as a church for seamen. We passed docks for building, and dry docks for repairing merchant vessels. One of the latter was of odd construction. It was the hulk of an old Dutch ship of the line, half sunk near the shore on the Surrey side, and in that way converted into a dry dock, in which a vessel was undergoing repairs. Sometimes you passed the decayed remains of

old men-of-war, which seemed to tell you of battles and storms, in other ages. Some were in decay, though not old. This was the case with a large frigate built of fir, in 1813, to match, so it was said, the American frigates. Getting lower down the stream, straggling ships of war were seen lying in ordinary; one had a plank stripped off from stem to stern near the water's edge to let in air to prevent rot. But I never should finish if I glanced at only a tithe of the multitude of things to strike the eye of a stranger. The scene occupied me more than the Docks, which I had set out expressly to visit. The Docks, indeed, with all they contain, present imposing images of commercial power; but to pass in review that portion of London, on the north bank of the Thames, from Westminster Bridge to the Docks, with its piles of buildings, its spires, its domes, its monuments, its manufacturing establishments, and other works and edifices; taking in also the solid bridges, packed with human crowds incessantly moving, with the immensity of shipping after you reach London Bridge, and all else arresting attention on the river and on both shores,—is to behold tokens of every other kind of power. You behold industry and art, under a thousand forms; you behold the accumulated capital of

ages, all in activity; all teeming with present results. You behold, in every direction, signs of national energy, enterprise, and opulence; much of it as if just bursting out. Such, to me, was the real scene of yesterday, keeping this side of all exaggeration. It was said by one of the Popes, a century ago, that if the treasury of Augustus had been put up to sale, London could have bought it—a strong figure of speech; but what are not its riches now, increasing as they have been ever since under new sources of trade and industry; and more of late years than ever? New buildings, new bridges, and other new improvements in all ways, attest the extent of its modern, and daily increasing, prosperity and wealth.

I need not go into detail about the Docks. Like the river, they were filled with vessels, except the East India Docks. These had comparatively few; but they were large, and, at a distance, looked like frigates. The London Docks can receive, it is said, five hundred merchantmen; and as many, if not a greater number, are accommodated in the export and import West India Docks.

I close this brief notice of the scene on the Thames by mentioning, that a London merchant likely to be well informed, with whom I was afterwards talking

about it, said, that upwards of £8,000,000 sterling had been expended since 1800, on docks, bridges, custom-house buildings, walls, and other establishments connected with the port and commerce of this great city.

It may be added, that since the epoch to which the foregoing notice refers, St. Katherine's Docks, the largest of all the commercial docks, have been built, at an expense of £2,000,000 sterling; and that the Thames Tunnel has also been constructed, which, in some respects, may be considered as the greatest of all the public works connected with the river. It was the man whom Sir James Macintosh in the House of Commons pronounced "the soldier, the sailor, the historian, the poet, and the statesman," it was that man, Sir Walter Raleigh, who said, that "whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade of the world, whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself." England does not forget this; and whoever will descend the Thames even from London Bridge to the Docks, and keep looking all around, and when at the latter, see also the immense warehousing system in full and successful operation, with the many other facilities and

sources of a vast commerce, from this great metropolitan city of England without considering her other ports—may mark how steadily she moves forward on the road which Sir Walter Raleigh so epigrammatically pointed out two centuries ago. And it is remarkable, that her advance in commercial power goes on at an even pace with predictions from the writers of other countries and her own, that her ruin or decay is fast approaching. The predictions began, at least, as long ago as Queen Anne's time, with her own Davenant.

CHAPTER X.

ENTERTAINMENT AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S—THE FLORIDA TREATY. BREWERY OF TRUMAN, HANBURY, AND COMPANY.—DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S, NORTH CRAY.—AMERICAN FLYING SQUIRRELS AND HUMMING BIRDS.—ANECDOTE OF THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE WEST INDIA TRADE AND OTHER SUBJECTS.—MR. STRATFORD CANNING APPOINTED MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.—DINNER AT MR. LYTTELTON'S.

AUGUST 26. Last evening, the French Ambassador celebrated the birth-day of his Sovereign by an entertainment. The Duke and Duchess of Kent, Lord Castlereagh, and other Cabinet Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, and other company, were present.

Again I had opportunities of informally conversing with Lord Castlereagh.

Salutations over, I began conversation with him by alluding to the strong rumours I had heard in the diplomatic circle, of Mr. Bagot being about to succeed Lord Cathcart as Ambassador at St. Petersburg. I then asked if he would put it in my power to announce to my Government who was likely to take Mr. Bagot's place at Washington ?

Lord Castlereagh replied, that Mr. Bagot's appointment to Russia, although not yet publicly made known, was, he believed, a measure determined upon by the Prince Regent. He had the more pleasure in saying so to me, because he felt that it would be taken as a new proof of the importance attached to the American Mission, when faithful services in it became the passport to an Ambassador's post at so leading a Court in Europe; that as to Mr. Bagot's successor in the British Mission at Washington, one had not yet been named; they felt an anxious desire that the choice should fall upon a person endowed with every suitable qualification, and as soon as it was made he would inform me of it.—[That there has been no diminution in the sense of the importance attached by the British Government to the Mission to the United States, may be inferred from the rapid transfer of Lord Lyons, a few years ago, from Washington to Paris.—Ed.]

This topic ended, "No ratification of our treaty yet," was my next remark. "So it appears," was his reply; "but I hope you are well convinced, that the ratification does not linger through our means?"

I answered, "Certainly, after what your Lordship said to me at Carlton House and Prince Esterhazy's,

I feel entirely convinced that it does not; and I have had great pleasure in communicating to the President what you said on both occasions."

"I will say more," he continued. "As far as we have given expression to any opinion or wish to Spain, it has been the other way; *it has been that the treaty may be ratified.*"

"This, then," I rejoined, "is a communication which I shall make to my Government with increased satisfaction."

"Let me deal candidly," he proceeded. "It can little be supposed, were it an open question, that we would not prefer that Spain should own the Floridas to their falling into your hands. She is weak—you are strong; but the treaty has been made, and we prefer its ratification to the possibility of any serious disturbance to the pacific relations between the United States and Spain. These we are sincerely desirous to see maintained, from the propitious influence that it will continue to shed upon the general repose of the world." I said that I was sure my Government would hear with great satisfaction the expression of such sentiments.

Pursuing the subject, he remarked, that whenever it appeared to this Government that the United

States were really manifesting a spirit of encroachment at which other nations might justifiably take exception, it might perhaps feel itself called upon to utter other opinions; but he did not think the present case open to such views. I again rejoined how happy I was to hear him express himself in this manner in relation to the Florida Treaty, and agreed that principles of moderation were those by which it would be best for all nations to steer.

The United States manifesting a spirit of encroachment! England to think this! England, whose empire encircles the globe! But it was not for me to reason with the sentiment as then and there uttered by Lord Castlereagh. It was neither the occasion nor place. Had England intervened to frustrate or retard the ratification of our treaty, the United States would have had ground of complaint; but as she was doing the reverse, the moment would have been ill chosen for commenting upon her own boundless dominion and power. We had no claim, of right, to the good offices, or even good wishes of England, towards hastening the ratification. Neutrality was all we had a right to ask. The voluntary interposition of her good wishes, whatever the motive, was to be well received; and I hold it to

have been another instance of the wisdom of the Foreign Secretary who then so largely swayed her foreign counsels; nor did I suffer a day to pass without transmitting what he said on this occasion to the Secretary of State.—[Sentiments such as the foregoing, uttered by the representatives of the United States and England in reference to the foreign policy of each, more than fifty years ago, certainly lose none of their importance in forming a just estimate of the relations of each with the other, and with the world, now.—Ed.]

August 29. Mr. Lowndes and Washington Irving, two of our countrymen, dine with us; the former a prominent Member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, the latter distinguished by his literary talents. The conversation was of the United States and England, Mr. Lowndes having lately arrived. From both, there was a flow of patriotism, mingled with liberal feelings towards England.—[Mr. Lowndes was the author of the celebrated sentiment, in the fewest and simplest words, so often quoted since in America, viz., that "The Presidency of the United States is neither to be sought, nor declined."—Ed.]

September 3rd. Mr. * * * *, who is closely con-

nected with some of the Cabinet, informs me that a British squadron, consisting of two seventy-fours, and two frigates, is in active preparation at Plymouth, whence it is expected to sail very shortly for the South Seas, and that Sir Thomas Hardy is to command it. He says that it was destined for this service in consequence of the operations of Lord Cochrane's ships in those seas, and the decree of Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chili, of the 20th of April last, relating to blockade, which has laid the foundation for some of Lord Cochrane's proceedings. * * * * said, that the British squadron would be there to watch events, not intending to let Lord Cochrane have sole command in the Pacific.

September 5th. Mr. Irving dines with us, to our renewed pleasure. His social benevolence is equal to his good humour. He speaks ill of no one, so that the poet's line—

"The tongue which where it could not praise was mute,"

might well describe him.

September 7th. Write to Mr. Forsyth, our Minister at Madrid, informing him that since my letter of the 24th of July, transmitted through Mr. Gallatin, I have assurances from Lord Castlereagh, that Eng-

land not only takes no steps to defeat our treaty with Spain, but desires and seeks to promote its ratification. I especially give him the information, as, by a letter from him, he appears to labour under opposite suspicions very strongly, not having received my former letter.

September 9. Visit the brewery of Truman, Hanbury, and Co. Young Mr. Hanbury conducted us through it. I will note a few things.

I asked if they ever got hops from the United States. The answer was, only in years when the crop was short in England, the duty upon our hops being so high as to amount to prohibition. The price in England for their own hops was stated to be £3 per hundred weight; this was in good seasons; last year being a very bad one, the price rose greatly higher. This had brought American hops into demand, the quality of which was better for brewing than the English; but it was said that they were injured for the English market by being dried, as was supposed, with pine wood, this being the only way in which a bad flavour imparted to them could be accounted for. We were told that there had been brewed at the brewery last year, two hundred and ten thousand barrels of beer, each containing

thirty-six gallons. The whole was performed by a steam-engine, equal to a twenty-six horse power. There were eighty vats, and three boilers.

We understood that the whole cost of the establishment, including the building, machinery, implements, horses, and everything else, together with the capital necessary to put the brewery into operation, was upwards of £400,000. And was this investment necessary before *beginning* the business? I asked. The answer was—yes, on the scale that I saw.

The stable was scarcely the least curious part of the establishment. Ninety horses of the largest breed were employed, not as large as elephants, it is true, but making one think of them; and all as fat as possible. Their food was a peck and a half of oats a day, with mangers always kept full of clover, hay, and cut straw, chopped up together with a machine, and hay in their racks throughout the night. It was among the largest breweries in London, but not the largest, Barclay's, established by an American, taking the lead.

After going through it all under the good auspices of Mr. Hanbury, who hospitably gave us a collation, we went to Spitalfields. There, through like obliging

attentions from Mr. Hale, an eminent manufacturer, we saw, in several of the houses and workshops, the whole process of weaving silk, satin, and velvets.

September 12. Dined with Lord Castlereagh yesterday at his country seat, North Cray, where he goes occasionally to pass a few days at this season of relative rest to Cabinet Ministers, being the beginning of the shooting season. It was a dinner given to a portion of the Diplomatic Corps and their ladies; we had also Mr. Planta and Lord Ancram, and were invited at six o'clock. This was early for England, and may have been to afford opportunity to Lord Castlereagh's guests for taking a turn before dinner along the sweet-briar walk heretofore alluded to; but if so, unhappily, we lost that chance. An accident to my carriage obliged us to stop on the road, and the consequence was, that, although the speed of the horses was increased after repairing the accident, we arrived after our time. The fifteen minutes usually allowed at English dinners had far more than run out. As we drove up we saw that the servants had all left the hall, and we feared that the company had gone to dinner. Entering the drawing-room, we found this not quite the case, but they were on the eve of going, and we had been

waited for. As I advanced to Lord Castlereagh to make the explanation, he at once put all apology aside by saying, playfully, "Never mind; it is all as it should be; America being farthest off, you had a right to more time in coming!" This relieved us; and our associates of the corps, who were standing by, in anxious silence at our dilemma, all witnessed the ingenious excuse which the good breeding of our host suggested for our very late arrival.

I remember nothing that better matches it than an anecdote I have heard of the Lord Leicester who built Holkham, one of whose dinner guests, on entering the room, unluckily struck a barometer hanging near the door. It fell down, breaking the glass, and scattering the mercury all over the floor; on which his lordship congratulated the company on the certainty of a change of weather, then much wanted, remarking that he had never seen *the mercury in his barometer so low.* Happy thought! but did not Lord Castlereagh, in his reception of us, meet the occasion as well?

We went to dinner a minute or two after our arrival, one of the ambassadors, Baron Fagel, taking Lady Castlereagh on his arm, and my wife going in with Lord Castlereagh. Two pet dogs had the run

of the rooms, *Venom* and *Fury*—in name only, not conduct.

If I came too late to go to the menagerie before dinner, its inmates were not forgotten at table. Lady Castlereagh said that she had now two of my countrymen in the collection, a mocking-bird and a flying squirrel; but the bird, vexed perhaps at being stolen from its native woods, would neither mock anything nor sing a note of its own; and as to the squirrel, none of her efforts had been able to make it fly; still there was one other thing she wanted from the United States, a humming-bird, having never seen one. I said it would make me most happy to procure one for her, if possible. "Thank you," she said; "but will it *hum* in England?" I said I would disown it as a countryman if it did not. Hereupon I was questioned as to the habits of this little frequenter of our arbours and porticos, where honeysuckles hang, but had to confess my shallow knowledge on this item of natural history; on which her ladyship hinted that I was holding back, for the honour of the humming-bird, not wishing to promise too much beforehand, lest it should refuse to *hum* when it got to North Cray!

Lord Castlereagh seemed quite disposed to indulge

in a similar vein, as if invited to it by the rural and quiet scenes around him—in such contrast to his daily battles in the House of Commons. He told anecdotes of the last Westminster election, and confirmed what has been before said on the subject, of his escape from the mob, with additional and diverting particulars, narrated with a familiarity that could mingle with his bland dignity when among the Foreign Ministers without overstepping it. We had personal anecdotes from him also of the Sovereigns of Europe. One or two had reference to the Emperor of Austria's fondness for hunting wild boars, and his success in that sport. His guests fell in with his own vein, and none seconded it better than Mr. Planta, a gentleman of native urbanity, and long enjoying all advantages of society.

We had one anecdote relished above all the rest. I need have the less scruple in telling it, as it may be inferred that the distinguished personage to whom it relates would himself have had no objection to its publicity. It was mentioned that, two of the servants of the Persian Ambassador having offended him lately in London, he applied to the British Government for permission to cut off their heads. On learning that it could not be granted he gravely

remonstrated! In the sequel he was ill able to comprehend how the laws of England could deny his request. Finding, however, that his hands were tied up, he told his servants, "*It was all one; they must consider their heads as being off, for off they would come when he got them back to Persia!*"

It was so the dinner moved along. I give little specimens only, ill-told, apart from their oral spirit. We left the table at nine o'clock, and were an hour in the drawing-room afterwards. Here Mr. Planta mentioned to a little knot of us, that Lord Castlereagh had once crossed with Lady Castlereagh from Ireland to Scotland in an open row-boat,—a distance of twenty-five miles. It was thought something of an adventure.

With the cup of delicious Mocha coffee in our hands, I had conversation with the Saxon Minister, Baron Just; and I must here mention, having omitted a note of it under its date, that this experienced member of the corps paid me a visit in the spring or summer, to talk about our intended recognition of Buenos Ayres. He said that he would not conceal his wish on that subject, having received a despatch from his Court, in which it was stated that I had made some communication to Lord Castlereagh in re-

lation to it in the winter. The precise nature of my communication his Court did not know; and it was thence his desire to learn it through me, as he had no claim to seek it through Lord Castlereagh. I frankly told him all; and it struck me as curious, that an official communication which I had made to the Foreign Secretary of England respecting a measure of foreign policy contemplated by the United States, should have passed from Cabinet to Cabinet in Europe, or from one Ambassador to another, until, somehow or other, for it was not said exactly how, it reached the ears of the King of Saxony, whose Plenipotentiary in London thus hears it for the first time by way of Dresden! Had the movements of the United States become so important with Europe? or were its smaller Courts, like Saxony, the more prone to political curiosity, from being able to do nothing important themselves, since the Holy Alliance existed? (When could the smaller Courts *ever* do anything important?) Be these things as they may, the veteran diplomatist thanked me again this evening for having put it in his power to enlighten his Court on this intended step of the Government of the United States, respecting Buenos Ayres. [Baron Just, like other diplomatists, and other people, liked to be among

the first to communicate important intelligence, so the writer remembers to have heard. On the news of the death of the first Napoleon reaching London, Baron Just hastened to make it known to some of his colleagues. "I have just heard it," said one of them. "You had heard zat before!" exclaimed the former Plenipotentiary, with evident chagrin, "how *could* you have heard zat before!"—ED.]

In a few brief words with Lord Castlereagh, I touched upon the non-ratification of our Florida Treaty. He again merely said, his other guests dividing his attention, that he wished it had been otherwise, adding, that he was led to infer, from the communications of Sir Henry Wellesley, their Ambassador at Madrid, that the refusal of Spain was not absolute, but that she only waited for some further explanations.

Before coming away, I asked it as a favour that he would name as early a day as his convenience would allow for letting me know the views of his Government on the renewed proposals that I submitted in June, on the West India trade; on which he appointed the 16th instant, requesting I would call on him at his residence, St. James's Square.

It was now ten o'clock. Our carriages were all in

waiting, the night was fine, the roads good, and we got back to town at midnight from this agreeable dinner-party; a delightful form of society of which the English are chiefly fond, and all the unwritten arcana of which they understand; a form of society where restraint and ease go hand in hand, to unite the pleasures of conversation in its lighter spheres, with the rational enjoyments of the table, heightening and refining both; and where, as the condition of the conversation being general, there must be a disciplined forbearance, under the golden requisition of which none talk too much. This, indeed, points to a high state of manners; and what training to produce it! How often have the young and unpractised held back, where all are listening while only one speaks, lest they should fail in the apt thought and proper expression of it! These are sensibilities, this the kind of culture, out of which such society grows, until at last, as the effect of both, it becomes an unconstrained and natural scene, where there is no jarring, blended with one of intellectual accomplishments and grace; a scene, not for conflict of minds, not for bending the bow of Ulysses, but for easy colloquy and reciprocal pleasure; where the strife is that of concession, if there be any strife; where

some minds, to be sure, will be superior to others; some able to sparkle and others not; but none struggling for mastery, or breathing a contentious spirit; where wit itself must be as the lightning of a summer's evening, diffusing gleams which never burn. To reconcile with all these restraints mental enjoyments in a sphere peculiarly their own and eminently delightful, is the end aimed at and achieved, and such are the general characteristics of dinner parties in England in their enlightened and polished circles.

There is a great charm in such society. Its standard is of intrinsic worth and beauty. It is of all times, and all countries advanced into high civilization. The educated and accomplished everywhere, appreciate its ameliorating influences; rich and flourishing Republics have the elements of it; and it raises the moral tone of conduct in other spheres, by the restraints which it imposes upon the temper and the feelings, laying a curb upon both, on the important occasions of life, such as is seen in the intercourse of refined social life. [The social advancement, within the last half century, of the young and rising Republic of the Western World, has had its effect in this, as in all respects, with which visitors to the United States have been struck. ED.]

September 16. The scene changes. It is no longer the tranquil hospitality of North Cray. Lord Castlereagh and his guest of last Thursday meet today, by appointment, to discuss matters of international concern; in the spirit, indeed, in which his Lordship discusses and transacts all business—that of courtesy; but when, like his guest, he has important interests of his country in charge, which guest and host are primarily bound to look to, neither gives way to the other, but as a sense of public duty may dictate.

His Lordship began the interview by taking from his table the proposals I submitted to him respecting the West India trade on the 13th of June. He premised, that it would be more convenient, perhaps, to answer them as the British articles submitted through my predecessor in London, in 1817, had been answered; namely, without any formal written communication, but simply in conversation with me. I said that the form of the answer would, I was sure, make no difference with my Government; its communication, in any mode, would answer.

He proceeded to inform me, that our proposals were not of a nature to form the basis of an agreement between the two countries for the regulation of

this trade; they would effect, if adopted, an entire subversion of the British Colonial system; from which system they were not prepared to depart. Their Colonies were, in many respects, burdensome, he said, and even liable to involve the parent state in wars. Garrisons and other establishments were constantly maintained in them, at heavy expense. In return, it was no more than just that they should be brought under regulations, the operation of which would help to meet in part the expenses which they created. The great principle of these regulations was known to be, the reservation of an exclusive right in the governing power to the benefit of the trade of the Colonies—a principle relaxed, it was true, by the Free Port Acts; but it had never been the intention of his Majesty's Government to do any more than make us the offer of a participation in those acts. Some modifications of them would have been acquiesced in, suggested by local causes, and an anxious desire that our two countries might come to an understanding on this part of their commercial intercourse; but our proposals went the length of breaking down the system entirely, and could not therefore be accepted. Such were his remarks.

I said, that to break down the system was no part

of our aim. All we desired was, that the trade, as far as opened to us at all, should be open to the vessels of both nations upon terms that were equal. If the system fell under such an arrangement, it was as an incident, and only served to show how difficult it seemed to render its longer continuance consistent with a fair measure of commercial justice towards the United States.

His Lordship's rejection of our proposals was so broad and decided, that it appeared at first almost superfluous to ask him to be more particular; yet, on my wish, he went on to assign reasons, remarking, that the discussion of the whole subject by the British Plenipotentiaries, and by Mr. Gallatin and myself on the side of our Government, a twelvemonth ago, would render it unnecessary for him to do so in much detail. [Here follow statements by Lord Castlereagh, and replies by the Minister of the United States, scarcely necessary to be recapitulated, the whole subject having been so fully gone into before.—ED.]

Lord Castlereagh passed to another subject. He adverted spontaneously to the Florida Treaty. He did so, to corroborate his former communications to me. He took from his table some of Sir Henry

Wellesley's despatches from Madrid, and read passages from a couple of them, showing that that Ambassador had made known to the Spanish Cabinet the wishes of the British Government for the ratification of our treaty. He also read me a passage from one of his own despatches to the Ambassador, in which an unequivocal opinion was expressed, that the true interests of Spain would be best promoted by a ratification.

He next asked me if I had heard, during the summer, of an intended visit of a Mr. * * * * * * to London. I replied, that I had. He said that he had too, but that he had not, in fact, arrived. The Spanish Government knew too well the opinion of his Majesty's Government, to imagine that the propositions with which * * * * * * was charged could ever be countenanced. These, he continued, were, to ask a loan of money from England to pay the American claims recognised by the Florida Treaty; and also to inquire, if Great Britain would consent to make common cause with Spain, in the event of a rupture between the latter and the United States.* His Lordship then stated, that the willing-

* This sheds some light on the anonymous communications mentioned in Chapter XV., of the former volume. I naturally sup-

ness of the British Court to acquiesce in our possession of the Floridas might be inferred from the indirect offer which it had made two years ago to mediate between the United States and Spain, which we had declined. This offer, he remarked, was made on the supposition that the cession of these provinces to us would have formed the basis of the negotiation; and to such a basis Britain was prepared at that time to consent, whatever her opinions formerly.

His Lordship also put into my hands at this interview, something not to have been read without the interest attaching in diplomatic life to what proceeds from high sources. It was a letter addressed to him by Sir Charles Stuart, the British Ambassador in Paris, relating an anecdote in which the Duchess d'Angoulême and Mr. Gallatin were the parties. It stated, that at a Court just held by the King of France, the Duchess pointedly asked Mr. Gallatin, in the hearing of others of the Diplomatic Corps, if British interference had not been at the bottom of the rejection of our treaty with Spain! Mr. Gallatin replied no; that so far from it, Great Britain had

posed that Britain would countenance no such propositions, though not then knowing what Lord Castlereagh told me in this interview.

endeavoured to promote an issue directly the contrary. Sir Charles adds, that he thanked Mr. Gallatin for the justice rendered his Court, but hinted a wish that the contradiction might not be urged further. The meaning of this caution I inferred to be, that as the Duchess ought not to have harboured the suspicion which her question implied without adequate grounds, the question publicly proceeding as it did from a source in such close connection with the French throne, had little claim to more than one contradiction.

In the course of the interview, his Lordship glanced at the pretexts under which Spain withheld her consent to the treaty, as he had learned them through Sir Henry Wellesley. These, in a word, were, though he did not go into them, an allegation by Spain that the United States desired to alter one of the articles of the treaty, by making certain declarations as to its meaning when the ratifications were to be exchanged; and next, that the Government of the United States had sanctioned an expedition against the Spanish province of Texas; both which allegations were shown in the end to be groundless.—[How little was thought at that time of the destinies of Texas, since become one

of the largest States of the American Union.—ED.]

September 18. Had another interview with Lord Castlereagh, on his invitation sent to me this morning. It was for the purpose of informing me, that the choice of the Prince Regent had fallen upon Mr. Stratford Canning, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from England to the United States, in the room of Mr. Bagot, who was appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg.

In selecting this gentleman, his Lordship said that the Prince Regent had been actuated by an anxious desire to keep up the system of conciliation which had been acted upon with so much advantage to both countries by Mr. Bagot; and his Royal Highness had the best reasons for believing that he possessed every qualification for treading in the same path.

In speaking more particularly of Mr. Canning, he carried back his narrative to 1812. That year found him, he said, in the post of Secretary to the British Embassy at Constantinople. The Ambassador being called away, Mr. Canning, under dormant credentials, which, according to usage in the diplomatic service of England, he was possessed of, stood at the head of the Embassy, with the rank and functions of

Minister Plenipotentiary. In this situation, important duties fell upon him, which he performed in a manner highly satisfactory; but he attracted the favourable notice of his Government chiefly by services which he rendered as auxiliary to the conclusion of a treaty between the Ottoman Porte and Russia; accomplishing an object dear at that time to Great Britain.* He was soon afterwards appointed Minister to Switzerland. This, although not generally a leading station, was converted by events into a conspicuous theatre for the display of his fitness for a high diplomatic trust. Being there when the Sovereigns of Europe were assembled at Vienna in 1815, and questions of interest as well between the States of Switzerland themselves, as between some of them and France, coming up for consideration, Mr. Canning was requested to give his attendance at the Congress. Thither he repaired, and from the usefulness of his information and discretion of his counsels, left upon all minds the best impressions. Returning to his station, he remained

* Russia and Turkey being at war, this treaty effected peace between them, thus liberating Russian troops from that service to go against Napoleon; as the treaty between Persia and Russia already mentioned had disengaged them from service against Persia.

until a few months ago, faithfully and ably discharging his duties; when, as was believed for some domestic reasons, he requested his recall.

Such was the account his Lordship gave me. He added, that his appointment to the United States was to be considered as the proper reward of past services. He mentioned that he would be made a Privy Counsellor, the Prince Regent intending to annex that dignity to his Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. He further spoke of Mr. Canning as joining to his abilities, personal dispositions kind and conciliatory.

I thanked him for his communication, telling him of the pleasure I should have in imparting it to my Government.

In the evening I dined with Mr. Lyttelton at Putney. We had a small but agreeable party. It could not have been otherwise in a circle where Lady Sarah Lyttelton lent her aid to the cordial hospitality of Mr. Lyttelton. Captain Spencer, of the Navy, was of the company. He expected soon to sail in his frigate, the Owen Glendower, for the Pacific, as part of Sir Thomas Hardy's squadron. This frigate was built with the round stern, the first of that description, according to the plan of Sir Robert Seppings,

which the Admiralty had adopted. The "round stern" was talked of, and conversation enlivened and diversified by many topics.

Mr. Lyttelton afterwards became Lord Lyttelton, heir of Hagley, and Lady Lyttelton, mistress of that elegant abode. There, at that classic seat, it was once my lot to pass a Christmas-week, with a youthful son; the mansion enlivened by other company, and everything to render hospitality attractive. Lord Lyttelton died soon afterwards, to the unfeigned regret of his American guest and friend, who would here pay a fleeting but sincere tribute to his virtues. After the death of Lord Lyttelton, the accomplished mind of Lady Lyttelton, pure principles, and mingled sprightliness and dignity, pointed her out, among the illustrious matrons of England, for the high trust of governess to the children of the present Queen; a situation which she now holds in the Palace—[Further on, in this volume, will be found a letter to Mrs. Rush in America, from the author, then temporarily in London, dated April 4, 1837, giving a detailed account of this visit to Hagley, not heretofore published in England. The Dowager Lady Lyttelton died only a few years ago, at an advanced age.—Ed.]

September 29. Mr. Stratford Canning, the newly-

appointed Minister to the United States, and several of the Diplomatic Corps, dine with us; also Mr. Planta. Mr. Canning manifests in conversation every desire to render the mission in his hands subservient to harmony and good will between the two countries.

October 2. Mr. * * * * * * visits me. He says that the Spanish Ambassador is very uneasy under the armament fitting out in Ireland in aid of the revolted Colonies. He remonstrates, but ineffectually, against it. He adds that the subject makes a talk in the Diplomatic Circle.

Getting on other topics, he was led to speak of allowances to some of the Ambassadors. The Austrian Ambassador, he said, received ten thousand ducats a year. The Russian, got more; but the Austrian, besides the above sum from his Government, had the same amount annually allowed him by his father, the elder Prince Esterhazy. The French Ambassador, he believed, received twelve thousand sterling a year, with an allowance for occasional entertainments. The Foreign Secretary of England, he added, was also allowed for entertainments. He further stated, that France gave her Ambassador *in London* £2000 a year *more* than her Ambassadors at any other Court. Speaking of British Ambassadors

abroad, he said, that a service of plate as a personal gift to them had lately been discontinued. The plate was now considered as attached to the embassy, and had the public arms engraved upon it. To her Ministers Plenipotentiary England gave no service of plate, but made some extra allowance in lieu. This was the information he gave on these matters, saying that by as much as he had heard, he believed it not far from the truth.

CHAPTER XI.

DINNER AT THE TRAVELLERS' CLUB.—ARMAMENTS IN AID OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN CAUSE.—DINNER AT BARON FAGEL'S, AMBASSADOR OF THE NETHERLANDS.—PRIZES TAKEN BY THE SPANISH AMERICANS NOT ADMITTED INTO ENGLISH PORTS.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE QUESTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

OCTOBER 4. Dine at the Travellers' Club. A party of about ten are at table, made up of English gentlemen and the Diplomatic Corps. This Club consists, I was told, of four hundred members, noblemen and gentlemen. One of the requisites to membership is, that the applicant should have travelled at least five hundred miles out of England. The club-house is a large one in Waterloo Place, not far from Carlton House. Besides the library of the Club, the rooms are supplied with the newspapers, periodical works, chess-boards, a billiard-table, and all things else necessary to such establishments as they exist in London. The rent of the house, without furniture, was stated to be a thousand guineas a year. Looking at the regulations, I observed that one of them prohibited dice, and allowed no game of hazard in the rooms of the Club.

At seven we sat down to dinner. It was served on silver, and by numerous servants in livery. Everybody seemed at home. Mr. Planta was of the party, and a good contributor to the conversation. There was no *swearing*, any more than at private tables in England, a thing I have never heard. Talking with Mr. * * * * * on that rule of the Club by which one black ball excludes, he agreed to what I had heard remarked at Lord Westmoreland's, namely, that to have had *two* duels would be likely to exclude any candidate from membership, without further scrutiny. He admitted duelling to be unavoidable in the existing state of manners; but said that experience proved it to be very rare in private society among the best gentlemen in England, who always understood each other. All the members of the Diplomatic Corps had the freedom of this Club extended to them; and this was far from being the only time I dined there in the midst of enlightened and agreeable people.

October 5. I learn from good authority that, in addition to an armament already despatched from Ireland to aid the Spanish Colonists, from two to three thousand men will soon follow, their first destination to be Margaritta. They will be under the command

of General Devereux, a native of Ireland, but long a citizen of the United States resident in Baltimore, an honourable man and a good soldier. He intends to embark in person with this force. The law is evaded by the men going out under colour of settling as farmers and labourers in the province of Venezuela. The better to mask this project, it is said that General Devereux has received either an actual or ostensible grant from General Bolivar of fifty square leagues of land in that province.

It has been remarked quaintly, as illustrating the difficulty of framing penal statutes which could not be evaded in England, that the only statute out of which the subject could not creep was the old one for burying in woollen. It is a hard task to execute laws where public opinion is against them. In Ireland it is known that attachment to the cause of the colonists has become very general. In England it is strong in powerful commercial circles, and even in some others. But whence are derived the pecuniary supplies necessary for so large an expedition as the one now fitting out in Ireland, seems not easy to discover. It is said that General Devereux does it on his own means; but troops are raised and equipped, transports hired, munitions provided, and

a large enterprise in all things completed for active military operations. All this would appear to be an undertaking too much for private means. The general has his head-quarters at an hotel in Dublin, wears a military dress, and has aides about him. It seems difficult to reconcile all this with the strict enforcement of the Foreign Enlistment Bill, passed to stop aid from going to the Spanish colonists; but facts must speak for themselves, and my informant can scarcely be in error, having *seen* part of what he mentions, and being too honourable to misstate things. I communicate to my Government all that he tells me.

October 6. Dined with Baron Fagel, Ambassador from the Netherlands. The company was composed of foreigners chiefly, with some English gentlemen. Amongst the former was a youth of about fifteen, a native of Java, dressed in the fashion of his country, who had lately come to London with a public functionary of Holland, arrived from that island. At table he retained his self-possession with entire modesty, and, what was more striking, seemed at fault in none of the conventional forms of the dinner. This was observed by all. So it is that native aptitudes will sometimes greatly supply the want of

previous training, even for the nicest occasions of social life; like those intellects which, in regions of thought more important, can go on from conclusion to conclusion without the intermediate processes necessary to others.

Mr. Barrow, of the Admiralty, was of the company, and talked with his usual command of resources for conversation. Ship-building being spoken of, one of his remarks was that, as a science, it was still in its infancy. Hitherto, in England, it had been in the hands, almost exclusively, he added, of practical men merely. Mr. Hammond, British Minister to the United States in General Washington's time, was among the guests. I found him still familiar with some of the incidents of our Government at that early day, when the French Revolution raged, and party spirit among us rested chiefly on an espousal of the cause of one or other of the great belligerents, France or England.

October 8. I am informed that Mr. Irisari, a Deputy from Chili, has had an informal interview with Lord Castlereagh. He asked whether the vessels of Chili would not be admitted into the ports of Britain? His Lordship replied, "Certainly, at all times." "Would their prizes also?" Here Lord Castlereagh

made objection, saying that such a permission might give cause of complaint to Spain. His Lordship then said that Sir Thomas Hardy, who was appointed to command the squadron destined to act in the South Seas, was charged to attend to British interests in that quarter, and would be the medium of any communications necessary between his own Government and the authorities of Chili, and thus exercise, in effect, Consular functions. The Deputy inquired if Great Britain would not in return receive a Consul from Chili? His Lordship answered that such reciprocity did not appear to follow as a duty, Chili being not yet recognised by other nations as an established power; but he said that the instructions to Sir Thomas Hardy directed him to pay respect to all the just regulations of trade and commerce established by those exercising the powers of Government in Chili.

October 10. We were at Drury Lane last night. "Guy Mannering" was the play, and "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled" was sung by Braham, long a famous singer, whom we had not heard before. The song, which breathes the spirit of freedom and heroism, was enthusiastically applauded, and encored twice. The Duke of Kent was present. "God save

the King" was sung by all the performers, the band playing it, and the curtain rising, as well as the audience, when he first entered his box. This member of the Royal Family seems a favourite. My countryman, General Harper, remarked, after the Duke had conversed a few minutes with him at the levee, that, although unable to judge of his intellectual powers in an interview so brief, he was struck with his well-selected words and clear enunciation of them, the latter not being the characteristic of all the Royal Dukes.

November 9. On the 4th instant, Lord Castlereagh wrote to me the following note :—

Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, and will be happy to have the honour of seeing him at eleven o'clock, A.M., the 5th instant, if that hour is not inconvenient to Mr. Rush.

Foreign Office, November 4th, 1819.

Through an accident, the note did not get to my hands until the evening of the 5th, and intermediate notes between us having arranged this day (the 9th) for the interview, it accordingly took place. It was on a subject his Lordship had much at heart—that

of the slave-trade. After a word of explanation on the short notice given in his first note, which arose from his being still partly at North Cray and partly in town; he remarked, that the Government of Great Britain had lost none of its anxiety to see a more universal and effective co-operation among independent states for putting down the traffic. It was still carried on, he said, to a lamentable extent; and, in some respects, as evidence collected by the African Institution and from other sources would show, was marked by more than all its original outrages upon humanity. It was the intention of the Prince Regent again to invite the United States to negotiate upon the subject, in the hope, notwithstanding what had hitherto passed, that some practicable mode might yet be found by which they could yield their assent to an association with other powers for accomplishing the object which all had in view. That I was aware of the addresses to the Prince Regent, presented by both Houses of Parliament at the close of the last session, for the renewal of negotiations with foreign powers, naming especially the United States and France, for rendering more effectual the laws passed for abolishing the trade; and that in consequence of this step it was his intention to en-

close to me, at an early day, copies of these addresses, as the foundation of a new endeavour which his Majesty's Government was now about to make with that of the United States. In doing so, his purpose, at present, merely was to bespeak my interposition towards making known to the President the measures contemplated, it being intended that all future negotiation should be carried on at Washington. This he thought indispensable after the past failure, as it could not be supposed that I was prepared with any new authority or instructions to resume negotiations on this side of the water. That their newly-appointed Minister, Mr. Canning, who, his Lordship now informed me, would embark early in the spring, would accordingly have the subject in charge, and be prepared to enter upon it on his arrival at Washington, under hopes the most anxious of an auspicious termination to his labours.

I replied that I would, as before, be happy to make known to my Government any communication with which he might honour me. I adverted again to the obstacles which the constitution of the United States interposed to the project of naval concert with foreign powers, and to the peculiar and extreme caution with which the question of search would be

viewed throughout our country. I said that these reasons strongly co-operated with the failure of the attempt already made here, in giving propriety to a change of place for the negotiation, and, therefore, I was very glad to learn that the new endeavour was to be made at Washington. I believed that the President had all his original sensibility to the importance of the subject, and I could not doubt but that he would receive any proposals from his Majesty's Government, differently modified from the last, with an earnest desire to turn them to good ends, as far as might be practicable, towards suppressing the traffic. I remarked, that as England had declared the principles of the Holy Alliance to have her approbation, though she was no formal party to it, so the United States, acting within their constitutional limits, had long and earnestly desired, as much so as the powers of Europe possibly could, to see the slave-trade abolished, although unable to be a formal party with them in the work. Here I adverted to what Lord Liverpool said last winter in the House of Peers; viz., that as the signatures of the European Sovereigns to the Holy Alliance were all by their own hands, England could not join in it, as the Prince Regent was restrained, by the fundamental doctrine

of the British constitution, from giving his autograph signature, without the intervention of a responsible Minister. With such an illustration as this, I observed to Lord Castlereagh, that the embarrassment which met us under our constitutional system of government, might perhaps be the more readily seen. He admitted it, but expressed hopes that such, and all other embarrassments, might in the end be overcome by proper modifications of the plan in question.

The interview, after some incidental conversation growing out of the general subject, here closed.

In the evening I dined with my friend, Mr. George Marx, Bedford Place, a merchant connected with the American trade; known for his mercantile intelligence, and general information, not less than for his private worth, and hospitable attention to Americans.

November 14. Received a note from Lord Castlereagh, dated the 11th instant, in fulfilment of his intention, made known to me in the foregoing interview. It covered manuscript copies of the address presented to the Prince Regent by both Houses of Parliament, to which his Lordship had referred. The following is a copy of his note:—

The undersigned, His Majesty's Principal Secretary

of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to transmit to Mr. Rush by command of the Prince Regent, a copy of addresses which were presented by both Houses of Parliament at the close of the last Session to His Royal Highness, which His Royal Highness has to request Mr. Rush will lay before the President, with an intimation that it is the Prince Regent's earnest desire to enter without delay into discussion with the Government of the United States upon the important subject to which these addresses refer, and in the successful accomplishment of which, the common feelings and reputation of both States are equally and deeply involved.

It has occurred to the Prince Regent that the difficulties which have hitherto operated to prevent a common system of concert and prevention between the two Governments, as directed against the illicit slave-trade, could be most satisfactorily examined by selecting Washington as the seat of deliberation. Under this impression, the undersigned has delayed to transmit to Mr. Rush the addresses in question, till he could accompany them with some proposition to be conveyed to the Government of the United States, for giving practical effect to the views of Parliament. The undersigned having lately had

the honour of acquainting Mr. Rush that Mr. Stratford Canning had been selected by the Prince Regent to replace Mr. Bagot as his Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary in America, and as that gentleman will proceed to his mission early in the spring, and will carry with him full instructions on this subject, the undersigned has to request Mr. Rush will invite his Government, on the part of the Prince Regent, to enter, as soon as may be after Mr. Canning's arrival, upon the proposed discussions.

Upon a subject so deeply interesting to humanity, the Government of the United States can never require any other impulse than that of its moral principles to awaken it to exertion; but whatever of aid good offices can contribute to smoothe the way for an amicable and advantageous proceeding on such a matter, the undersigned is convinced will be supplied by Mr. Rush's zeal, and enlightened attachment to the success of the great cause which the inquiry involves; and in this view the recommendation is specially recommended to his personal support and protection.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Rush the assurances of his distinguished consideration. CASTLEREAGH.

Foreign Office, 11th November, 1819.

November 16. To the above note, I returned the following answer :—

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, has the honour to present his compliments to Lord Castlereagh, and to acknowledge the receipt of his note of the 11th of this month.

The copy of the addresses to the Prince Regent from both Houses of Parliament at the close of the last Session respecting the slave-trade, which, by command of his Royal Highness, came enclosed in his Lordship's note, with a request that they might be laid before the President, the undersigned will lose no time in transmitting to the Secretary of State with that view. The intimation of its being the earnest desire of the Prince Regent to enter without delay into discussions with the United States upon the important subject to which these addresses refer, and in the successful accomplishment of which the two nations have a common interest, will, the undersigned is persuaded, be met by his Government in the same spirit which has given birth to the desire in the mind of his Royal Highness.

The undersigned cannot avoid expressing his ac-

quiescence in the opinion, that the difficulties which have hitherto operated to prevent a system of concert between the two Governments against the illicit slave-trade, are most likely to be satisfactorily examined by selecting Washington as the seat of deliberation. If, happily, they are of a nature to be removed, it is by such a transfer of the seat of a new endeavour, that the best hopes may be formed; and it is hence with peculiar satisfaction the undersigned learns that Mr. Canning, when proceeding on his mission to the United States, will carry with him such full instructions on the whole subject, as may prepare him for entering upon the interesting duty of giving effect to the views of Parliament. The undersigned will not fail to make known this intention to his Government, by the earliest opportunity he can command.

Upon a subject so universally interesting to humanity, Lord Castlereagh has justly inferred that the Government of the United States can never require any other incentive than that of its own moral impulse to awaken it to exertion. But if, upon the present occasion it needed any other, the undersigned must be permitted to say, that it would be abundantly found in the friendly and enlarged spirit of this renewed overture from his Royal High-

ness the Prince Regent, and in the liberal justice rendered to the early and steadfast efforts of the United States to abolish the slave-trade in the addresses in question from the Parliament of this realm.

Following up their uniform policy in this great cause, never tired of adopting new expedients of prohibition where new evasions have pointed to their necessity, the undersigned is happy to be able to state, feeling sure that the information cannot be otherwise than acceptable to the unwearied and useful zeal of his Lordship in the same cause, that besides the law of April 1818, of which the undersigned had the honour to speak in his note of the 21st of December of that year, a subsequent Act of Congress, of date so recent as last March, has raised up additional means for the extirpation of the traffic. By this Act, the President is specially authorised to employ armed vessels of the United States to cruise upon the coasts of Africa, and other new provisions are introduced for intercepting and punishing such delinquent citizens of the United States as may be found engaged in the traffic. It is well known that the sentiments of the President are in full harmony with those of Congress in the beneficent desire of putting a stop to this deep-rooted evil. With such

pledges before the world, the undersigned cannot err in confidently anticipating that the fresh proposals of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent will be promptly taken up at Washington, under the deepest convictions of their importance, and with every anxious desire for such favourable results as can be made compatible with the Constitution, and other essential interests of the Republic.

The undersigned is happy to embrace this occasion of renewing to Lord Castlereagh the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

RICHARD RUSH.

London, November 16th, 1819.

Allusion being made in the above answer to the justice which the Parliamentary addresses render to the United States in connection with this subject, I insert one of them, that its words may be seen. I take the one from the House of Lords.

Die Veneris, 9 Julii, 1819.

Ordered, *nemine dissentiente,* by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, that an humble Address, &c.

RESOLVED;

That an humble Address be presented to his Royal

Highness the Prince Regent to assure his Royal Highness that we acknowledge with becoming thankfulness the zealous and persevering efforts which, in conformity with former addresses of this House, his Royal Highness has made for accomplishing the total annihilation of the African Slave Trade by all the Foreign Powers whose subjects had hitherto been engaged in it.

That we also congratulate his Royal Highness on the success with which his efforts have been already attended, that guilty traffic having been declared, by the concurrent voice of all the great powers of Europe assembled in Congress, to be repugnant to the principles of humanity and of universal morality.

That, in consequence of this declaration, all the states, whose subjects were formerly concerned in this criminal traffic, have since prohibited it;—the greater part absolutely and entirely; some for a time, partially, on that part of the coast of Africa only, which is to the north of the Line. Of the two states which still tolerate the traffic, one will soon cease to be thus distinguished; the period which Spain has solemnly fixed for the total abolition of the trade being near at hand. One power alone* has hitherto

* Portugal.

forborne to specify any period when the traffic shall be absolutely abandoned.

That the United States of America were honourably distinguished as the first which pronounced the condemnation of this guilty traffic; and that they have since successively passed various laws for carrying their prohibition into effect; that, nevertheless, we cannot but hear with feelings of deep regret that, notwithstanding the strong condemnation of the crime by all the great Powers of Europe, and by the United States of America, there is reason to fear that the measures which have been hitherto adopted for actually suppressing these crimes, are not adequate to their purpose.

That we never, however, can admit the persuasion, that so great and generous a people as that of France, which has condemned this guilty commerce in the strongest terms, will be less earnest than ourselves to wipe away so foul a blot in the character of a Christian people.

That we are, if possible, still less willing to admit such a supposition in the instance of the United States,—a people derived originally from the same common stock with ourselves, and favoured, like ourselves, in a degree hitherto perhaps unequalled in

the history of the world, with the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and all their attendant blessings.

That the consciousness that the Government of this country was originally instrumental in leading the Americans into this criminal course, must naturally prompt us to call on them the more importunately to join us in endeavouring to put an entire end to the evils of which it is productive.

That we also conceive that the establishment of some concert and co-operation in the measures to be taken by the different powers for the execution of their common purpose may, in various respects, be of great practical utility; and that, under the impression of this persuasion, several of the European states have already entered into conventional arrangements for seizing vessels engaged in the criminal traffic, and for bringing to punishment those who shall still be guilty of these nefarious practices.

That we, therefore, supplicate his Royal Highness to renew his beneficent endeavours, more especially with the Governments of France and of the United States of America, for the effectual attainment of an object which we all profess equally to have in view; and we cannot but indulge the confident hope that

these efforts may yet, ere long, produce their desired effect; may ensure the practical enforcement of principles universally acknowledged to be undeniably just and true; and may destroy for ever that fatal barrier which, by obstructing the ordinary course of civilization and social improvement, has so long kept a large portion of the globe in darkness and barbarism, and rendered its connexion with the civilized and Christian nations of the earth a fruitful source only of wretchedness and desolation.

CHAPTER XII.

NUMBER OF AMERICAN VESSELS IN BRITISH PORTS.—DINNER AT THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—AN EARLY SESSION CALLED ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISTURBANCES OF THE COUNTRY.—LEVEE AT CARLTON HOUSE.—FETE AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—THE HORSE-GUARDS CALLED OUT.—DUTY ON TOBACCO, SNUFF, AND HOPS.—DINNER AT MR. COLQUHOUN'S.—INTERVIEW ON OFFICIAL SUBJECTS WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—ENGLAND CONSENTS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AS UMPIRE UNDER THE DISPUTED ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF GHENT.

NOVEMBER 19. In a despatch of to-day to the Secretary of State, I mention the following facts; viz., that at the close of last month there were but *two* vessels of the United States in the port of Liverpool; and during the first week of the present month, only a single one in the port of London.

The number of United States vessels annually arriving at Liverpool before and since the war of 1812, has frequently been from three to four hundred, sometimes more, the most of them ships of good size; and the arrivals at London since the spring of 1815 until the close of 1818, have been sixty-four annually, taking the average.

The extraordinary falling off is ascribed to the numerous commercial failures, and to the depression of business generally in the United States; of which the condition of the State Banks, and Bank of the United States, is given as one of the causes. Many of these institutions have failed, and others been greatly embarrassed in their affairs; whilst all the resources and energies of the country remain the same, indued with their intrinsic principle of increase.

At seven o'clock I went to dinner at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, where we had several of the Diplomatic Corps and other company. Again we were in the dining-room of Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Walpole, with memorials of the times of each around us; and none were better able to call them up, with appropriate anecdote and allusions, at his table, than our hospitable entertainer.

November 24. Parliament was opened yesterday by the Prince Regent in person. I was in the Ambassador's box, with the rest of the Diplomatic Corps. As the Regent read his Speech, the Duke of Wellington stood on the Throne by his side, holding the sword of state. The Speech began as usual with announcing, in terms of regret, the continued indisposition of the King; and it told both Houses that

his Royal Highness continued to receive from Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards England.

Parliament has been opened at a day unusually early, and the Speech assigns the disturbed state of the country as the cause. Seditious practices stated to have been prevalent in some of the manufacturing districts, (Manchester, and the riots in that vicinity in August, being chiefly meant,) had led Ministers to make some addition to the military force, with a view to their more effectual suppression. For this step, they desire the sanction of Parliament, as well as for other measures contemplated by them in aid of the public tranquillity, and due execution of the laws.

The usual Address, reflecting back the Speech and adopting its sentiments, was moved in both Houses, but strongly opposed by Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and Mr. Tierney in the House of Commons; each of whom moved an amendment. After debate, the Ministers triumphed by large majorities in both Houses, thus carrying the Address as it stood.

The Speech had also a paragraph relating to the depression existing in certain branches of the manufactures, and consequent distress among those con-

nected with them. Speakers in both Houses, whilst handling that part of it, made allusions to distresses existing in the United States, some of them alleging that they were more general and severe than in England. Even the Speech from the Throne stated that the depressed condition of the manufactures was in a great measure to be ascribed to the embarrassed situation of other countries.

It is worthy of remark, on the other hand, that in the United States, our newspapers and public documents ascribed our distresses in a great degree to the depressed condition of business and industry abroad, but chiefly to the distresses in England.

Both to a certain extent were true; and what can more show the dependence of countries one upon another? And may I not, in this connexion, be allowed to recall the declarations made to Mr. Gallatin and myself by Lord Castlereagh, when opening an important negotiation between the two countries at North Cray? Upon that occasion, amongst other sentiments which he uttered, he said, "Let us, in short, strive so to regulate our intercourse in all respects, as that each nation may be able to do its utmost towards making the other rich and happy."

A liberal sentiment, and wise as liberal;—one in

unison with the spirit of an age which seeks to lessen the causes of national dissension and war;—a sentiment, than which no better motto could be chosen by all nations entering upon negotiation, and most especially suited to the United States and England, as having common interests and sympathies perhaps beyond all others existing.

November 26. Attend the Levee at Carlton House. Converse with Mr. Robinson, Mr. Vansittart, Lord Westmoreland, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Stratford Canning, and several of the Diplomatic Corps. Hear nothing of our own affairs. Topics are general. The disturbed state of the country is one; the weather another; the weather—always a topic in England, because, as Johnson says, it is always uncertain; and at this season especially a topic, winter having set in uncommonly soon; and as one remarks it to another, the ball of conversation thus gets its first motion. Before any one pronounces it an unapt topic, let him turn to Johnson's essay on the subject in the Idler.

November 29. Mr. Coke dines with us. He is all cordiality and good spirits. His conversation is of England, English persons, and English things. He told anecdotes—some of the Royal Family.

There was this of the late Queen: that on the evening after the duel between the Duke of York and Duke of Richmond, then Colonel Lenox, the Queen met the latter in one of the Court circles, and was more than usually gracious, offering her hand as she first addressed him. He told some of the Prince Regent, who used to be his guest at Holkham, when Prince of Wales. Speaking of the nobility, he said, that of the eighteen Dukes in the three kingdoms, nine were on the Ministerial side, and nine in opposition; he enumerated the latter, most of whom were his friends; and added that two of the Royal Dukes, the Duke of Kent and Duke of Sussex, usually voted also with the Opposition. Speaking of the *taxes*, he said, that himself and others of his county, whom he named, (opulent landholders,) had resolved that they would pay no more; that is, if they were taxed higher in some things, they would retrench their consumption in others, so as to keep at the point where they stood.

How Mr. Coke would have reconciled retrenchment anywhere, with all his munificent and long-indulged hospitalities, was not for me to inquire. The Duke de Medina Celi, in Spain, once finding his expenses too great, determined on retrenchment. Calling up

his butler, chamberlain, equerry, and all others, he desired to know what could be dispensed with; and, upon receiving reports from all, it was ascertained that the only item which could possibly be struck from the annual expenses, consistently with the comforts and dignity of his household, was *one lamp* in the hall! Would the noble-hearted proprietor of Holkham, whom I am proud to have called my friend, have retrenched after that fashion?

December 16. The Spanish Ambassador gave a grand entertainment last night in honour of the marriage of his Sovereign to a Princess of Saxony. The Prince Regent, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Gloucester; Prince Leopold; the Duke of Wellington; the members of the Cabinet; the Foreign Ambassadors, and Ministers, and their ladies; many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, were there.

My carriage arrived at the door about half-past ten, when we witnessed an unexpected scene. Inside and out, the Ambassador's whole domicile was illuminated. In front of it, on the wide flag pavement, was drawn up a strong detachment of the Horse Guards, their heels close upon the iron palisades, and heads facing the street. Every sword was drawn.

The bright steel, the scarlet uniforms and jet-black horses, were imposingly shown by a thousand lamps; and, although the crowd in Portland-place seemed immense, through the glasses of our carriage, all was silence. As we got out, not a word was heard from the assembled mass. All seemed gazing at the Ambassador's domicile, blazing with light, and the array of cavalry under its windows. The scene was inexplicable until we entered. I then learned that the Government, having been warned of a probable disturbance, owing to the high names which it was supposed the fête would bring together, had called out these Horse Guards.

All was tranquillity inside: the banquet was sumptuous. Amidst the train of servants were two called running footmen, in livery different from the rest, and wearing plumes. One stood behind the Prince Regent's chair, the other behind that of the Duchess of San Carlos. Besides other arrangements which the Ambassador had made for the pleasure of his guests, there was one as precautionary against accident; he had caused fire-engines, and a supply of firemen, to be stationed close at hand in case of fire, so profuse were the lights, both inside and outside the mansion.

The Prince Regent went away first. None go

while he remains; and it was observed that a party of the Horse Guards attended him to Carlton House, as his carriage drove off.

December 20. In my despatch of this date to the Secretary of State, I mention that a Bill has been brought into the House of Commons for continuing the duty on tobacco, snuff, and hops for the ensuing year. Hops are charged with a specific duty on importation from foreign countries, of five pounds eight shillings sterling the hundredweight. This amounts to a prohibition of our hops, as Mr. Hanbury told me, unless in years when the English crop fails, or is short. There is no duty, strictly speaking, on the *importation* of tobacco, but when delivered for home consumption in England from a ship arriving from foreign parts, it is immediately subject to an excise, many hundred per cent. above the original cost of the article; which bears hard upon it, as one of the productions of our old southern states, and some of our new states.

December 22. Dined at Mr. Colquhoun's, St. James's Street, author of "The Power and Resources of the British Empire," "Police of London," and other works. Of the company were Major-General Wittingham, the newly appointed Governor of Do-

minica, with some West India proprietors and other gentlemen, and the son of Mr. Colquhoun, Consul-general from the Hanseatic Republic.

We had much conversation; and the table displayed honourable tokens of merit in silver vases and other ornamental articles, presents from the Senate of Hamburg, the Island of St. Vincent's, and other communities, to the elder Mr. Colquhoun, for faithful services rendered in the management of their affairs, private or political, in the course of a long and active life in London. For wines, we had them of quality and variety to suit all. There was old hock, a present from the Senate of Hamburg; and claret was produced, that had been seven years under water. It was in an outward bound Indiaman, going as part of a stock to the Marquis of Wellesley, when Governor-General of India. The vessel being wrecked, the wine was brought up by a diving machine, after that lapse of time. Being in bottles well corked, it remained sound, and in the opinion of the table, had not lost its flavour. All agreed, that its original destination was a fair pledge of its good quality when shipped.

"Bacchus and fostering Ceres, powers divine,
Who gave us corn for mast, for water wine!"

Than the classic statesman for whom this wine was first intended, none could better have parodied this tribute to Bacchus, by chaunting in verse how delicious it continued, even after rising from its watery bed!

During the evening, the conversation turned on West India interests; in which, under appeals to me, I participated as far as I justly might. There was a desire to learn from me the state of the negotiations between the United States and England under this head. I stated, in a word, the views of the former as disclosed in the negotiations of last year, the result having been published at Washington; but did not speak of the recent communications I had made to Lord Castlereagh, and received from him.

1820. January 13. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh at my request, the object in part being to determine upon an umpire under the first article of the Treaty of Ghent. As the United States construed the article, it threw an obligation upon England to make compensation for all slaves the property of their citizens, who, at the date of the ratifications, were in any territory or places directed by the treaty to be restored, but were then still occupied by the

British, whether the slaves were on shore at that date, or on board of British vessels lying within our waters.

England objected to so broad a construction, alleging that she was absolved from making compensation for any of the slaves who, at that date, had been transferred from our territory to her ships of war, still lying within our waters.

And now, at this interview with Lord Castlereagh, I proposed the Emperor of Russia as the umpire, under the provisions upon this subject in the fifth article of the Convention of October, 1818. He replied that he would lay my proposal before the Prince Regent, and furnish me with an answer at as early a day as was in his power.

I next broached the subject of the interference, on the part of the British authorities in Upper Canada, with the Indians residing within our territory, stating in general terms the extent and injurious consequences of it. I said that my Government had no belief that a proceeding so unfriendly had its foundation in any act or intentions of his Majesty's Government; but that harmony would be best promoted through its suppression by his Majesty's Government. I told his Lordship that I would, at

an early day, put into his hands documents on this subject, showing how the facts were. He promised that all proper attention should be paid to it.

I also read to him the copy of a letter from the Navy Department, written by order of the President, to Commodore Stewart, commander of our squadron in the Mediterranean, on the subject of the duels between certain officers of the sloop of war Erie, belonging to the squadron, and certain British officers of the 64th regiment, belonging to the garrison at Gibraltar. The letter conveyed the President's disapprobation of such practices, with the expression of his hope that they would not be repeated, and that all causes of them might be avoided.

These matters disposed of, I referred incidentally to the President's message to Congress at the opening of the Session last month, remarking to him, "You see, my Lord, that the Government of the United States is for acting upon the principles of an English court of equity—good authority, we hope it is, for carrying our agreement with Spain into specific execution." "So I perceive," he replied; "but do you consider it a part of national law, that if one party refuse to ratify a treaty, even admitting no departure from instructions by the Minister nego-

tiating it, that the other party may go on to act as if the provisions were in full force?" I said No, and that no such principle was asserted, or, as I apprehended, implied in the message; the measure had been taken on a basis of its own, and was thought to be justifiable by the long and injurious delays practised by Spain in regard to all the matters in dispute; delays which we believed the whole world, when well informed of them, would admit to have been unjust. Lord Castlereagh barely rejoined, that he supposed our explanation would be to that effect.

January 17. The weather, for upwards of a month, has been very cold. The thermometer has been nearly all the time from 15 to 25 degrees below the freezing point. The Thames is frozen over. In the neighbourhood of Kew Bridge the ice is stated to be eighteen inches thick, and in some places near Woolwich four feet. Snow has fallen in great quantities. The papers contain accounts of persons having been frozen to death in different parts of the country, and of great suffering among the poor from the severity of the weather.

January 20. I addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh on the 15th instant, requesting an interview for the purpose of putting into his hands copies of

the papers which make known the interference on the part of the British Colonial authorities in Upper Canada with the Indians within our limits. His Lordship being out of town, I was invited to-day to the Foreign Office by Mr. Planta, as representing him.

He acknowledged, on behalf of Lord Castlereagh, the receipt of my note, and said that his Lordship would appoint a time for seeing me as soon as he returned to town. He then made the following communications under instructions from Lord Castlereagh.

He said that his Lordship had taken the commands of the Prince Regent as to the umpire on the point in controversy respecting the slaves carried away under the Treaty of Ghent, and that his Royal Highness assented to the President's desire, that the true construction of the treaty in this particular, should be referred to the decision of the Emperor of Russia. His Lordship being desirous that I should be informed without loss of time of this assent, would not leave town without causing it to be thus imparted to me; and Mr. Planta added, that as soon as his Lordship returned, he would suggest such official steps as it appeared to the British Government

proper for both Governments to adopt, with a view to give effect to their mutual desire.

The other communications which Mr. Planta made to me were embraced in a despatch received by Lord Bathurst as Secretary of the Colonial Department, from the Governor of New Providence. This paper he read to me at the instance of Lord Castlereagh. It bore date, Nassau, September the 30th, 1819, and informed Lord Bathurst, that the Seminole King, Kenadjie, had arrived at that island with six Indian chiefs and seventeen attendants; that all these Indians had merit in the eyes of Great Britain from having rendered assistance to the British forces in the attack upon New Orleans, and that they claimed the countenance and support of the Governor, as representing the British Government in that quarter; nevertheless the Governor replied, that he would not interfere in any way in their behalf during a state of peace with the United States, and sent them home again, with no other relief than that which humanity prescribed to their immediate and pressing wants.

I thanked Mr. Planta for the communications, begging him to assure Lord Castlereagh that I would promptly make known both to my Government, which was accordingly done. I also in due time apprised Mr.

Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at St. Petersburgh, of the assent of the British Government to the Emperor Alexander, as umpire; and gave the same information afterwards to Mr. Gallatin at Paris.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF KENT.—DEATH OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—SOLEMNITIES AND CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE DEMISE OF THE CROWN.—THE PRINCE REGENT ASCENDS THE THRONE.—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT DETERMINED UPON.—STATE OF THINGS BETWEEN THE KING AND PRINCESS OF WALES.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—CATO STREET CONSPIRACY.—DINNER AT THE TRAVELLERS' CLUB.—DINNER AT MR. STRATFORD CANNING'S.—MEASURES OF PARLIAMENT UNDER THE DISTURBED STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—DINNER AT SIR EDMUND ANTROBUS'S, AND AT MR. HOLLAND'S.

JANUARY 28. On the 23rd of this month died, at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, the Duke of Kent, fourth son of the King, in the fifty-third year of his age. A character of him in the *Times* of a few days ago enumerates, among topics of eulogy, that he was "a kind master, and a punctual and courteous correspondent." Referring to his rigour as a disciplinarian, even to things the most minute, while in military command, the same article has the following remarks: "His attention to the appearance and discipline of his regiment was unremitting; but, as he could not inspire all the military world with an

equal sense of the solid value of those dry details which ought to employ so large a portion of military life, or with an equal taste for those minutiæ of the service, of which, nevertheless, when considered in the aggregate, the correct performance adds so much to the precision and efficacy of military tactics, he was for some time an unpopular commander. Every military man is not capable of discovering, in the best conceived order, or wisest rule, laid down for his observation by superior authority, the direct relation of the means to the end. It may not be thought, at first, of serious importance that an officer's coat or sword-belt should be of a specific fashion or colour; but let us consider that the excellence of an army consists in its susceptibility of collective and uniform impulses; and we must admit that uniformity in smaller things—in hourly occupations and objects of attention—nay, in the form of a hat, or a boot, may contribute to enforce upon common minds the main principle of harmony in action."

The Grecian Phalanx, the Roman Legion, and the army of Frederick, sustain the spirit of these remarks, which forcibly express and condense some of the maxims of military wisdom.

January 31. On the evening of the 29th instant

the King died at Windsor Castle, in the eighty-second year of his age. This event was announced to the Foreign Ministers by a note from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs yesterday. The following is a copy of the one I received :—

It is with the deepest concern that Viscount Castlereagh, one of his late Majesty's Principal Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acquaint Mr. Rush that it has pleased Almighty God to take unto Himself his late most gracious and excellent Majesty George the Third. His Majesty expired at the Castle at Windsor yesterday evening, at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock, to the great affliction of all the Royal Family, and of all classes of his Majesty's subjects. Viscount Castlereagh is persuaded that Mr. Rush will participate in the general grief which this melancholy event has occasioned, and requests that he will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Foreign Office, January 30th, 1820.

The King's long reign of sixty years made the earlier parts of it historical to the generation that now witnessed his death. This was the case with

all Americans born at the close of the American Revolution, and was my case. To this English Monarch's well-known remark on receiving the first Minister from the United States (Mr. Adams), viz., that, as he had been the "last man in his kingdom to consent to our Independence, so he would be the last, now that it was established, to call it in question," I can add another anecdote, derived from an authentic source. Mr. West, the painter, whose patron and friend the King was, being with him during the American War, on an occasion when news came of a victory over the Americans, the King gave expression to his feelings. Observing Mr. West to remain silent, while all was gladness in the palace, he remarked, "Why so silent, Mr. West?—why not rejoice?" The latter replied, "I hope that your Majesty will not take it amiss if I cannot feel pleasure in hearing of misfortunes to those amongst whom I was born, and passed my early days." "Right, right, West; a good sentiment: I honour you for it," was the King's reply.

These anecdotes might have been sufficient, had there not been other duties prompting to it, to secure a respectful answer to Lord Castlereagh's note, responding to the forms of his own. I accord-

ingly sent one of that kind. The venerable age of this King, and the affliction with which he was visited during so many of the latter years of his life, made him largely an object of sympathy with all classes in England. He seems to have outlived political animosity, and to have closed his long and eventful reign amidst the general goodwill of his people—a feeling that was extended and strengthened by the purity of his private life.

Besides the foregoing note from Lord Castlereagh, there came enclosed to me by his Lordship a copy of the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 30th of January, containing a letter from the Duke of York, dated at Windsor, to Lord Sidmouth, Home Secretary, announcing the King's death as soon as it happened, and enclosing the statement of his physicians. A copy of the Gazette of the 31st was also sent to me, mentioning that, on the information of the King's death reaching London, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and those of the Privy Council, and other persons named, assembled at Carlton House, and duly published and proclaimed George IV., late Prince of Wales, as lawful King of the Realm; and that the same authority had given orders for proclaiming him in proper form. The

Gazette further contained the declaration of the new King to the people of the realm, in which, amongst other things, he pledges himself to use his endeavours to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the country.

February 1. Yesterday the new King was proclaimed in due ceremony, with processions, civil, military, and heraldic, in different parts of the metropolis. First, in front of his own palace, Carlton House; next, near King Charles's statue, Charing Cross; next, in the City, Fleet Street, after some strange old forms at Temple Bar between the local authorities of the City, and the herald king-at-arms on the part of the King, before the gates were thrown open to the King; and finally, at the Royal Exchange. The Park and Tower guns were firing all the while, and trumpets sounding, and divers other manifestations of joy going on; all which, to a Republican of another hemisphere, might have seemed in contrast with the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's for the death of George III., the solemn sounds of which were still in the public ear.

The foregoing ceremonial would have taken place the day after the death of the late King, but that the

30th of January is still observed under an Act of Parliament as a solemn fast-day, being the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and church service is prescribed for the day, so that the joyous ceremonial was deferred until yesterday.—[This observance of the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. has been long since discontinued.—ED.]

The Cabinet Ministers of the late King resigned their appointments on the morning after his death, into the hands of the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, when the new Sovereign immediately reappointed them all.

The letters of credence of all the Foreign Ministers being, in form, to the late King, though the present King as Prince Regent administered the government in his name, the death of the former vacated these also; but Lord Castlereagh gave an intimation that it was the desire of the new King that they should all be considered as in full force and virtue, until the respective Governments of the Foreign Ministers were heard from.

February 2. I receive from the office of the Lord Chamberlain a paper, relative to a Court mourning. A similar one was sent to all the Ambassadors and Ministers. I had received, a few days before, the

orders for a Court mourning, in terms somewhat similar, for the Duke of Kent.

February 5. The new King has been very ill since his accession. All the Diplomatic Corps have made inquiries at Carlton Palace daily for the last three or four days. The carriages of the nobility have also thronged his residence. The answers to inquiries to-day were, that he was better.

February 10. At an informal assemblage of some of the Diplomatic Corps at the Saxon Minister's, it was agreed that their servants, more especially their coachmen and footmen, should all be put in black for the late King. It was understood that the members of the Corps not present would all concur. The venerable Saxon Minister remarked, that as it would be "an extra expense, of course our *Courts* will make a suitable allowance for it!" The American Minister, who was at the meeting, made no objection to the step, and put his servants in black accordingly; but as to *his* "Court," at Washington, it is certain that he never troubled it with any such item of expense.

February 11. I transmit to the Department of State, the Report and Appendix laid before Parliament on the subject of weights and measures. Also information and communications from Sir Joseph

Banks on this subject, with which he obligingly furnished me—Sir Joseph (the President of the Royal Society) having been placed by the Prince Regent last year at the head of a commission in relation to the subject. The ancient models of weights and measures deposited in the English Exchequer at Guildhall, and other places, having by lapse of time and other causes varied from each other, so as to render perfect accuracy unattainable, the object of the commission was, to seek the right modes of rendering them accurate, and preserving them so. I send also to the Department various books; among them, Hansard's Parliamentary History, and Parliamentary Debates, and Pickering's edition of the Statutes at Large; all this under the instructions of Mr. Adams, who is engaged in preparing, by order of Congress, a report on weights and measures.

February 16. This day the funeral of George III. took place at Windsor. The shops in London were all shut, the streets deserted, and the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's was heard at intervals throughout the whole day. I pass over the description of the funeral solemnities, given in all the chronicles of the day.

What a reign has been this monarch's? The pub-

lications of the last fortnight have teemed with notices of it; of the mighty scenes and revolutions which it has witnessed in both hemispheres; the strife of arms throughout the world, with which it has been identified; the dominion lost and gained to Britain during its term; the stupendous results thence flowing and to flow; and the revolutions in science and other things which it has also witnessed! These things, and much more, the press has been recalling. History will take account of them all. But that which was most calculated to occupy the thoughts of an American Minister when George III. died, was first the fact that his own country had been politically born after this extraordinary reign commenced; and next, the recollection of its astonishing increase, and increase of Britain also, whilst the same monarch continued upon the throne,—an increase in resources and power far transcending that of any other two nations of the globe during the same period. Their increase in population, throwing into the scale the Colonial and Oriental subjects of Britain, seems to stagger belief. Their aggregate increase in all ways has given earnest that Britain and the United States are destined to become, to an extent not easy to estimate, the predominating nations of Christendom; as already their

joint commerce and tonnage, those fruitful causes and sure evidences of power in modern times, overmatches that of all Christendom. The demonstrations are in steady progress, and the death of George III. naturally recalled them, that the Anglo-Saxon race is to rule in the Western hemisphere, as the spirit of the same race rules in Asia. From east to west, the language, laws, commerce, and freedom of that great race are extending with resistless force, and must overspread, in primary activity and in civilizing power and influence, the face of the globe. If anything could add to the force of such thoughts, crowding into the mind of a citizen of the United States officially witnessing the close of the reign of George III. in his own kingdom, and called upon to join in badges of mourning at the termination of his mortal career, it would be a recollection of the prophecies at the close of the American revolution, made by master minds in both hemispheres, that the independence of the United States could not last, and that the downfall of Britain would date from that memorable dismemberment of her empire. Short-sighted prophecies! Each an incumbrance to the other when together, their severance seems to have been the signal for unequalled progress, and boundless

prospects, to each; not more in material dominion than in the solid and durable glory of widening the empire of rational freedom throughout the world.—[Have these views lost any of their force in the interval which has since elapsed? On the contrary, have they not derived, and are they not deriving, new force, by the uniform concurrence of subsequent events? And do not such reflections strengthen the thought that America and England are the natural allies of the world?—ED.]

February 19. It has been determined that Parliament is to be dissolved, instead of waiting for the period when it would expire by law. This period is six months from the demise of the Crown. The Opposition strongly object to this course, saying that it covers an intention in the Ministry to set out with some high-handed acts of taxation or power under the new reign, which a Parliament, on the eve of responsibility to the people, would be reluctant to adopt. The Ministers reply, that they advise a dissolution for the public convenience, as time might fail them if they attempted to go through all the business which the first session of the new reign will call for, if restricted to the six months; and also, that they advise it for the sake of avoiding those

drawbacks to business in the House of Commons, and agitations to the country, always incident more or less, to a general election in England.

Beyond this I hear, through a good source, that Ministers are uneasy at the state of things between the King and Princess of Wales, now become Queen. As Queen Consort in the eye of the law, by his accession to the Throne, she also succeeds to the rights and dignities of the station. The King is known to be opposed to her being invested with these, and is understood to desire a divorce. His constitutional advisers reply, that in no part of her conduct, that has yet come to light, do they discover a sufficient warrant for prosecuting adversely such a measure against her.

So matters are said to rest at present, the new Queen being still out of the realm. I even hear, through another source, that the Ministers are prepared to withdraw from their posts, rather than depart from the opinion which their duty has pointed out to them, perceiving no alternative course in any lights which they can yet command; and that this their determination has been made known to the King, who, for the present, submits himself to their guidance. It is thus that I write to my Govern-

ment on the state of things since the demise of the Crown.

February 24. Going to Lord Castlereagh's at eleven this morning by appointment, the servant at the door informed me that he was not up. I expressed a hope that he was not unwell. The servant replied, that he did not know; on which I handed him my card, telling him to give it to Lord Castlereagh, and say that I had called according to appointment. The servant immediately requested me to walk into the reception room, while he went up stairs with my card. He returned with a request from his Lordship that I would go up to his chamber; on which I said that I should be most unwilling to disturb him if unwell. The servant repeated his Lordship's request and desire to see me, and accordingly I went up. There I found him sitting before the fire on a sofa, in his flannel gown. With his wonted courtesy, he apologized for giving me the trouble of coming up stairs; to which I answered how happy I was to do so, unless I found him unwell, in which case I would not say a word on business, but have the honour of calling some other time. He said No, he was quite well, but fatigued from being kept up until nearly daylight through a cause he

would mention; but requested I would first proceed to the object of our interview, which he had not forgotten, and desired to hear from me the disclosures I had to lay before him.

My call related to a subject I had broached last month, further attention to which had been suspended by the King's death; viz. interference, by the British authorities in Canada, with the Indians living within the boundaries of the United States; and I now handed him the documents which went to show the facts.

After a somewhat prolonged conversation I finished the subject, to which Lord Castlereagh promised to give every attention, assuring me that his Majesty's Government would take such course as the nature of the complaint appeared justly to call for. I will own that I was not without curiosity to learn how it had come to pass that I was called upon to discuss the subject in his Lordship's chamber; and now my curiosity was to be satisfied. He proceeded, with all calmness, to let me know the cause, and I had from him the following narrative :—

He said that he and his colleagues of the Administration had been kept up all night, and almost until dawn, by the affair of Thistlewood's conspiracy,—

Thistlewood and his accomplices having been arrested, and the plot crushed, only since the preceding night had set in. This man, he said, with others, had formed a plot for murdering the whole of the Ministers, the perpetration of which was to have been effected last evening; and, daring as it might appear, effected in *the dining-room* of Lord Harrowby, where it was known the Cabinet were all to have been together at dinner yesterday. The Members did not go to the dinner as intended, one of the conspirators having warned Lord Harrowby of the danger, though only yesterday, while he was riding on horseback in the park. He gave no countermand to his butler respecting the dinner, but suffered the arrangements for it to go on as if nothing had happened, until between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. Twelve Members of the Cabinet would have dined there, but for the warning. They assembled elsewhere; and a little before the time when, according to the warning, the conspirators were to have issued from their rendezvous, caused a force, civil and military, to be sent to the spot designated. This was a stable, to be entered through an archway, in an obscure street, called Cato Steeet, near the Edgeware Road, about two miles from Grosvenor Square, where

Lord Harrowby resided; and in the loft of that stable, sure enough, the conspirators were found, fully armed, and ready to sally forth on their work of blood at the hour agreed upon. Fifteen or twenty were congregated. On a demand to surrender, they resisted fiercely, and the civil officers being in advance, one of the latter was killed, others wounded, and all would probably have been overcome, but for the arrival of the military. The military coming up, led by Captain Fitzclarence, succeeded in capturing about one-half; the remainder escaped, after fighting their way as well as they could. The arms found upon them, and in the place where they were captured, consisted of pistols, swords, daggers, and hand-grenades, the latter formed in a way to produce great destruction if thrown into a room.

This is the narrative I had from Lord Castlereagh. It fixed my attention, and I heartily congratulated him on his escape, and the escape of his colleagues, from so barbarous a plot. Our conversation was prolonged on some of its incidents as far as then brought to light, and on the supposed inducements to so bloody-minded a crime. His conjectures were, that by murdering all the Ministers in a single night, the conspirators possibly imagined they could overturn

the Government; but perhaps thought it more likely that by taking advantage of the first moments of consternation and tumult which would have followed the deed, they might have brought about scenes of temporary plunder and desolation in London, and then escape loaded with booty, before the law could overtake them.

Before coming away after this unusual interview, his Lordship asked me if I had seen General Vives, the new Minister from Madrid to the United States, then in London on his route to Washington. I said that I had not. He replied that he had, and that he had not failed to say to him everything of a healing nature as between the United States and Spain, adding that he continued to look to an accommodation of all the differences with the same wishes as formerly.

February 27. Dined at the Travellers' Club. We had Mr. Bagot, Mr. Stratford Canning, Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Planta, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr. Chad, Count Ludolf, and others.

Conversation was various, the Cato-street conspiracy not being forgotten. All seem to believe in its verity, of which the circumstances already disclosed hardly leave a doubt; the men being found at

the place pointed out by their accomplice—their being armed—their fierce resistance, until the military arrived—and then their flight—all pointing to a guilty purpose: to which effect was the conversation.

Talking with Count Ludolf, before we sat down, he mentioned the following anecdote of Louis XVIII. When the news of the late assassination of the Duke de Berri was brought to him, he was in bed. He immediately rose, but, before he would repair to the scene, ordered one of his state dresses to be brought, which he put on, and afterwards waited for his barber, saying, that it was not proper for a King of France to appear otherwise before his subjects. He made it three-quarters of an hour before he could get off. The Duke was not quite dead when the King arrived, but every moment was expected to be his last!

The company rose from table at about ten, when most of us went to Lady Castlereagh's, where a party was beginning to assemble. Several of the Ministers were at it, the Duke of Wellington among the number. The conspiracy appeared to be the topic first spoken of by all, ladies as well as gentlemen; and the Ministers were congratulated by those who had not seen them before, on their escape.

March 3rd. Dined at Mr. Stratford Canning's, Great Cumberland-street. Of the guests were Mr. Bagot, Mr. Planta, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Mr. Inglis, Count Ludolf, and Mr. John Adams Smith.

The clubs of London were spoken of, particularly some of the older ones, as White's, Brooks's, Arthurs', Boodle's, the Cocoa Tree, and the Thatched House. White's, the Tory Club, established in the time of Charles II., consisted of five hundred members, and there was said to be considerable difficulty in getting admission, as it was generally full. The place of head waiter at this club was said to be worth five hundred guineas a-year. Brooks's, the Whig club, was not so numerous; it consisted of four hundred members. Boodle's was chiefly for independent country gentlemen, and was stated to exceed both the others in comfort. Things were mentioned of some of these clubs, and others more modern in their establishment, showing the large moneyed resources which they have at command, and the luxurious accommodation thence seen in their arrangements, not merely, if even primarily, as regards the table, wines, furniture, and so on, but in libraries, maps, and other intellectual appliances.

Incidents of the Cato-street conspiracy came before

us; and we had plenty of conversation on other subjects, intermingled with anecdote. One which our host told, I must venture upon repeating, though I shall not be able to give it with the point he did. It related to Lord Byron, and was only one of several which were told of him. His Lordship happened to be at Constantinople in 1810 or 1811, when some grand procession was on foot, he, Mr. Canning, then being Secretary of the British Embassy in that capital. The former inclining, rather perhaps as British peer than poet, to take part in the procession, applied to the Secretary of the Embassy to know where his place would be, with an intimation that he supposed his rank in England would not be overlooked. The Secretary naturally referred him to the Ambassador on a point that might not under all the circumstances be of very easy adjustment. The Ambassador was embarrassed between a real desire to oblige his Lordship, and the real difficulty of placing him where the noble poet himself might have imagined he ought to be. At length the day arrived, and Byron made his appearance with his broad cocked-hat on, and otherwise ceremoniously equipped. He stood waiting to have his place assigned him, not doubting but that he would move with the embassy,

and perhaps conspicuously in it. This was found impossible, under official arrangements common to all the embassies, and his Lordship had to follow behind, and make out as well as he could. When it was all over, the Ambassador, still anxious to smoothe matters, wrote him a courteous note, explanatory of his inability to procure him any other place; letting drop the idea also, that his Lordship had given rank to whatever place he had. In reply, Byron sent a note of equal courtesy, saying that he had no complaint whatever to make, and withal assuring the Ambassador that he would ever be happy on such occasions to walk after him, "*his ox, his ass, or any thing that was his.*"

With such anecdotes was the evening enlivened. It had the charm of small dinner parties in England, where the very fixed seats, and *vis-à-vis* arrangement of a company, seem to give to this form of social assemblage chosen facilities for conversation; before the attractions of which, the ancient worship of the bottle has so happily disappeared.

March 7. Parliament was dissolved the last of February, not by the new King in person, but by commissioners, and the work of electing a House of Commons has already been actively commenced.

The assassination plot has continued to be a prevailing topic in all circles since its discovery and suppression. It has caused great excitement, it may almost be said some dismay, so foul was its nature, and so near did it appear to have advanced to success. Thanks were offered up at the Royal Chapel, St. James's, for the escape of those whose lives were threatened. Different uses are made of the event, according to the different opinions and feelings of the people in a country where the press speaks what it thinks, and no tongue is tied. The supporters of Government say that it was the offspring of a profligate state of morals among the lower orders, produced by publications emanating from what they called the "cheap press," which the late measures of Parliament aimed at putting down; and added, that it vindicated the necessity and wisdom of those measures. The opponents of Government, who vehemently resisted the measures, insisted in reply, that it was wrong to suppress, or even attempt to interfere with, such publications, since, if irritated feeling, however unjust might be deemed its causes, were not allowed vent in that way, it would find modes more dangerous; and that although a check might perhaps be given to the

"cheap press," other presses in England would hold whatever language they pleased against the Government.—[A broad field of inquiry naturally recurs here, whether the cheap literature, if "literature" it can be called, of late years so prevalent, and becoming more so, as well in America as England, has not tended, and may not still further tend, to dwarf, rather than elevate and expand, the intellect of the people, and thereby lower the tone of thought. The inquiry deserves the continued anxious consideration of minds accustomed to think and reason. —ED.]

Even in a debate in the House of Lords three days after the event, Earl Grosvenor, a nobleman deeply interested by his great possessions in seeing the public tranquillity maintained, declared that there would not be wanting persons who would regard it as "the offspring of an erroneous system of coercion;" but afterwards, fearing that what had fallen from him might possibly be misconstrued into an intended mitigation of the crime, he explained away the force of his remark.

The measures of Parliament alluded to, were matured in the early part of the Session, and I made a report of them to my Government in January. They

aimed at abridging, first, the circulation of cheap publications; secondly, the freedom of public meetings; and thirdly, they invested magistrates with certain powers to disarm the people to a limited extent, by clothing them with authority to search suspected places for arms. The measures were not designed to be permanent, and have since, I believe, been superseded in most of their provisions, or passed away altogether; but as showing the state of the times, I will introduce from my report some of the forebodings that were uttered.

In the House of Peers, Lord Sidmouth, in defending the measures, said, that "the constitution of England was in greater danger than it had been in at any other time since the accession of the House of Brunswick to the Throne."

Lord Grenville said, that "nothing could equal the imminence of the peril which impended over the country."

Earl Grey, in opposition, thus expressed himself: he declared that the measures "took away the protection allowed to free discussion, and aimed a blow at one of the most valuable rights of Englishmen, such as the most arbitrary Minister in the most arbitrary times never proposed to Parliament."

In the House of Commons Mr. Plunkett said, that "in the present state of the country the slightest cause might be sufficient to unsheathe the sword of civil discord."

And Mr. Tierney exclaimed, "I can see on the part of Government a determination to resort to nothing but force; they think of nothing else; they dream of nothing else; they will try no means of conciliation; they will make no attempt to pacify; force, force, nothing but force—that is their cry."

Thus much for Parliament. Turning to outdoor indications, I take the following as only a single specimen. On the 24th of January a very large meeting of Whigs was held at Norwich, to celebrate the birth-day of Charles James Fox, the great Whig statesman and Parliamentary leader, during and before the French Revolution. Amongst those present were the Duke of Norfolk, Premier Peer of England, the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Coke. One of the avowed objects of the meeting was, to mix with the anniversary celebration a denunciation of the measures of Parliament. Mr. Coke called them "*Bills of Blood;*" and the Duke of Sussex pronounced them "violent, unnecessary and unconstitutional." He also invoked the opinions of the

Duke of Kent, which he affirmed to be the same as his own. It is remarkable, that the Duke of Kent was then lying, unknown to his Royal brother, a corpse in another part of the kingdom.—[The Duke of Kent died on the 23rd of January in Devonshire, and his death had not been heard of on the following day in Norwich! probably, too, towards the close of the day! What a commentary on the benighted condition of the people of that period, as compared with these days of telegraphs!—ED.]

It may, perhaps, be new to many of the present generation that such accumulated and portentous dangers existed in England in 1820. The opinions and assertions from sources so high, and which no doubt were sincerely uttered at the time, of the reality of their existence, may serve to show of how little account such forebodings generally are in that country, when a few years so generally put them to flight. The certainty of her advancing prosperity might almost, it would seem, be assumed, from assertions and predictions coming from herself to the contrary; since the absence of these might foreshadow that the active spirit of her people was abating, under enervating influences creeping upon her to stifle the boldness of speech inherent in her free-

dom, and always sure to break out in complaints of her condition, and accusations against her rulers. Similar complaints and accusations must ever have existence, to a greater or less extent, in all free and great nations during their onward progress in resources and power. They are witnessed in the United States. Such onward progress cannot but be attended by clouds and vicissitudes, affording to the restless a large field, and even to the intelligent and patriotic, plausible ground, on divers occasions, for inveighing against the exercise of power and exaggerating adverse appearances.

Other nations are apt to be misled in regard to England by this accusing, and denouncing, and often despondent voice, ever ready to be uttered, to its very largest extent, in her Parliament, her press, and throughout the ranks of her people. When, three years ago, she sent her Ambassador, Lord Ashburton, to Washington, to negotiate respecting the North Eastern Boundary, it might be instructive to recall, even at this short interval, all that was said, within her own borders at that moment, of the Chartist excitement; of the O'Connell movement; of the human misery (too real) just then discovered in her collieries; of the disasters to English arms in Affghanistan, and

of her approaching war with China. From these things, all co-existent at that precise epoch, and dwelt upon with intensity of emphasis throughout great classes in her own dominions, many of our own people were inclined to infer the probability—almost certainty—that she would yield to us; yet, what was her actual course in that important negotiation, and what is her situation at present, in reference to those sources of difficulty and darkly-painted dangers? Where are they now? Some disappearing—others tending to an augmentation of her power! Making this incidental allusion to Lord Ashburton, I cannot avoid saying, what I believe Americans of all parties who knew him in Washington, would be ready to say; namely, that it would be difficult to determine which was most conspicuous in him, superior intelligence of mind, with skill in affairs, or an uniformly discreet and most conciliating temper, to co-operate with the powers of his understanding, in dealing with affairs. A stranger to the existing generation among us on his first arrival, he left our shores with universal public respect; although all did not like the Treaty which he, and the highly-gifted negotiator on the American side, concluded. It experienced a fate common to most treaties between ambitious and

powerful nations—was inveighed against on both sides; thereby starting the inference of there being redeeming characteristics in it for both.—[This incidental mention of Lord Ashburton, whose special Mission to Washington was in 1841, makes it right to repeat here, for greater distinctness, that though the Author is mainly dealing with his recollections of the English Mission, during the years he occupied it, from 1817 to 1825, this book was not written till 1844, nor published till 1845. The "fate" of the Ashburton Treaty, naturally suggests that of the Washington Treaty and would suggest a similar inference.—ED.]

March 10. Dined with Sir Edmund Antrobus. We had the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Caledon, Lord Binning, Sir George Warrander, Mr. Bagot, Mr. Stratford Canning, and others.

Cobbett's name was mentioned. Lord Hardwicke spoke of the esteem in which he was held in England many years ago, particularly by Mr. Windham, and told the following anecdote; that Mr. Pitt once came up to Windham in the House of Commons, and said: "Windham, do you dine at home to-day?"—"I do," said Windham. "Then," said Pitt, "I will come and dine with you."—

"Agreed," said Mr. Windham; "but I fear you won't like your company, for Cobbett is to dine with me."—"Never mind that," said Pitt, "as I do not take him at breakfast," (meaning that he did not take his paper) "I shall have no objection to meeting him at dinner," and accordingly went. This was during the time when Cobbett's extraordinary pen was defending the Government.

March 11. Dined at Mr. Holland's, Russell Square—formerly mentioned as of the firm of Messrs. Barings. The company consisted of Dr. Holland; Mr. Lenox, of New York; Mr. Greeg; Mr. Park; and a few more.

Dr. Holland is known by his professional eminence, and as having been travelling physician to the Princess of Wales, now Queen; and equally known by the accomplishments of his mind. His conversation marks his knowledge on literary and other subjects. We had, as a topic, the authorship of Junius, no new light appearing as yet to have been shed upon the question by the death of George III., as was once anticipated. Dr. Holland represented the public belief as at length, in a great degree, settled down on Sir Philip Francis. The best informed men in England who had attended to the subject, were beginning to think so; and, for

himself, he considered the evidence as good as it could be, this side of positive proof.—[This accomplished gentleman, now Sir Henry Holland, Bart., still lives, at the age of past eighty, and has since added to his other titles to distinction that of being one of the greatest travellers of modern times, surpassing, in some respects, other great names that might be cited. Nor has advancing life at all impaired the sprightliness of his mind, or his attractive intercourse. He has been five times to America, on one occasion with the Prince of Wales; the last time, very recently.—Ed.]

Speaking of Mr. Walsh's book on the United States and England, his opinion was, that it would do good; and so thought others, he added, with whom he was in intercourse. It would spread much information, new to English readers, and at least show on how many points America was misunderstood; and both from misinformation, and want of information, erroneously judged in England. I said that I had read the work with great interest, under hopes of its spreading useful light before both countries.

CHAPTER XIV.

DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S.—FUNERAL OF MR. WEST, PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—DUELS BETWEEN NAVAL OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND BRITISH OFFICERS AT GIBRALTAR. —INTERVIEW WITH THE COLONIAL SECRETARY OF STATE ON THIS SUBJECT.—DINNER AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE WITH MR. GEORGE JOY. —DINNER AT LORD HARROWBY'S—AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S—AT MR. ROBINSON'S.

MARCH 18. Dined at the Marquis of Lansdowne's, where we had Mr. De Neuman, of the Austrian Embassy, Mr. Lamb of the Melbourne family, and several Members of Parliament.

Before going to dinner, Lord Lansdowne, referring to the late revolution in Spain, mentioned that the King had consented to accept the Constitution of 1812. Such, he said, were the accounts of the day. —[*"The late Revolution in Spain!"* This was in 1820. How many have there been, or have there not been, since, and how some of these continental nations seem to revolve in the same circle!—ED.]

We were soon at table, and the dinner moved on as all dinners do in that classic dining-room, where elegant hospitalities are so often dispensed.

The courses over, and servants out of the room, the conversation grew to be general; this marking the time when it usually becomes the most completely so at English dinners.

What subject should then come to be talked over, but the old Spanish Armada? How it got uppermost, or who introduced it, I scarcely know. It seemed to have slipped itself in by some chance, possibly from the Cato-street conspiracy having produced an allusion to Babington's conspiracy. Instead of crossing our path transiently, and disappearing, it got to be *the* topic, excluding others for its time. My curiosity was awakened to know what would be said. The Armada had been in my fancy since school-days; I had passages of Elizabeth's speech to her troops by heart, as thousands of American boys probably also had; and had settled it, as part of a boy's creed, not only that the invincible Armada was beaten, but that, if the Spaniards had landed, they would have been beaten still worse on *terra firma*.

Not so thought the company—at least, not all; opinion was divided; in fact, the preponderance was decidedly with Spain. I took no part. I left all to the English gentlemen, sufficiently engaged in listening to the topic thus handled in the heart of Old

England. Those who sided with Spain, held that the salvation of England had turned upon the death of the Spanish Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, before the sailing of the Armada, which accounted for its disasters, the command getting into inexperienced hands; the soldiers on board would otherwise most probably have been landed; these, when reinforced by greater numbers from the Netherlands, all of them Spanish veterans, and joined by the Catholics of England, then secretly inflamed by the execution of Mary of Scots, and the whole led by the Duke of Parma, must have overwhelmed England; some unknown chance might have saved her—nothing short of it.

So they viewed the subject; so they seemed to settle it, as matter of conversation. I listened with a sceptic's ears; for what would the English armies have been doing all the while? what, the descendants of men who had fought at Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt? Such thoughts passed in my mind. There was no need of uttering them, however; for our noble host dissented. He had left the conversation very much to his guests, content with occasionally throwing in a suggestion, as it was in progress; but, in the end, he gently and (according to my poor thoughts) effectually, overset the whole hypothesis by asking,

Why England could not have resisted the Spaniards then, as well as the people of the Low Countries?

Such were some of the historical speculations of the evening. Others engaged us a little. Leland's History of Ireland was spoken of, and the portion of Irish history written by Spenser. Of the former, Lord Lansdowne expressed favourable opinions; and the "Faerie Queen" vouched the merit of the latter.

The general election in progress being touched upon, something curious was mentioned; viz., that at Preston, the place where Mr. Hunt, the reformer, was a candidate, universal suffrage prevailed, no freehold or other qualification of any kind, save that of sleeping six nights in the place, being required in a voter. How this came about, was not explained, or I did not catch the explanation. It was remarked upon as a curious anomaly in the English system of elections.

March 30. Yesterday I attended the funeral of Mr. West. It proceeded from Somerset House to St. Paul's, where the interment took place, and was a public funeral by decree of the Royal Academy, of which the deceased was President. It was understood that the King's desire was the same, his Majesty being patron of the Institution. It was

therefore conducted under the immediate superintendence of the Royal Academy. Between forty and fifty mourning coaches, the horses of each having covers of black velvet over them, made part of the train. There were the usual ceremonies in other respects of a funeral of this description in London; such as marshal-men, cloak-men on horseback, mutes, and pages. The hearse was drawn by six horses covered with black velvet; and the mourning coaches being also entirely black as well as the horses, the harness, and all the feathers and plumes, gave a solemn air to this pomp for the dead. The effect of the whole was heightened as the corpse was slowly borne into the immense Cathedral of St. Paul's, pronounced the most imposing edifice for size and grandeur reared in Europe by Protestant hands.

Mr. West being a native of my country, I was invited by the Council and officers of the Royal Academy to the funeral as a pall-bearer, and attended in that capacity. The other pall-bearers were, the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir William Scott, Sir George Beaumont, General Phipps, the Honourable Augustus Phipps, Sir Thomas Baring, and Sir Robert Wilson. When the body reached the choir, the bier was set down and an anthem sung. It was then conveyed to

the vault door, attended by the pall-bearers and mourners, and interred next to that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the funeral church-service being performed at the perforated brass-plate under the centre of the dome. The chief officiating clergyman was the Reverend Gerald Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington. Altogether the scene was of much solemnity, and attested the honours paid by this distinguished Society to departed genius. Large and distinguished portions of the society of London responded to the feeling which dictated them, as was manifested by the private carriages belonging to the nobility and others seen in the procession, which exceeded the mourning coaches in number.*

Two of the mourning-coaches were appropriated to the pall-bearers. The one in which I was, conveyed also the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir William Scott, and General Phipps. The first, besides his eminence as a statesman, is distinguished by attainments in the arts; a testimonial of which is, his classical Treatise on Architecture, prefixed to an edition of Vitruvius, written during or after his travels in Greece. The

* George III. allowed Mr. West a thousand pounds sterling a year, and had paid him forty thousand pounds for the encouragement of the fine arts.

slow pace of the procession until we arrived at the Cathedral was favourable to quiet conversation. The crowd along the Strand, and on passing Temple Bar, was very great. The appearance of the streets served to call up historical recollections ; as when Charles II. passed along the same streets, thronged with multitudes, at the Restoration, and when the French King was led through them, as the captive of Edward III. Sir William Scott, who recalled these things, alluded also to the famous fracas which took place in this line of street two centuries ago, between the retinue of the Spanish and French Ambassadors, on a struggle for precedence, when the traces of the carriages of the latter were cut by the servants of the former—an incident familiar to diplomatic literature. On the late revolution in Spain favourable to the Constitution of 1812 being spoken of, General Phipps remarked, that it had moved along with great tranquillity. Sir William Scott, pausing a moment, replied, "*as yet.*" The classical brevity of this great civilian is known.—[Would not a similar reply be apt to suggest itself *now,* with reference to the *latest?*

The frequency, now-a-days, of Revolutions in some of the countries of Europe, followed by the "proclamation" of so-called Republics, to be again overthrown

for a return to the old order of things; whether in the shape of a *coup d'état*, or under the disguise of a *plébiscite*; to be succeeded again by another *déchéance*, and a fresh proclamation of "The Republic;" in other words, by a state of prolonged anarchy, during which the country is perpetually in a condition of "great agitation," in consequence of the struggles of contending parties to replace its own chief upon the throne, or drench the land in blood by establishing the reign of Communism—all this naturally suggests to a citizen of the United States, a reflection which may not be out of place here.

In proportion as we are proud of *our* great Republic, a nation composed of thirty-seven separate and distinct sovereignties, and of nearly forty millions of people; which has now established itself in the deliberate and approving judgment of mankind by nearly a century of successful operation; where freedom has ever gone hand in hand with submission to law; where the nation has again and again shown its capacity to prosecute successfully foreign war, and repress domestic insurrection; where (with a rare exception—indignantly denounced by the people) the military has ever been held in strict subordination to the civil power; and where, as perhaps one of the

greatest and most favoured conditions of our success, *we had in the beginning no thrones to topple down, nothing to pull to pieces; but began upon a clear board*—surely, surely, in the same proportion, it becomes *us*, if we are really proud of our heritage, to be a little chary *at first* of our compliments and congratulations to these newly proclaimed and rapidly shifting Republics. Let us at least wait a little while; at least long enough to give them a trial; above all till they have received the approving stamp of *popular* sanction and support, calmly, deliberately, and intelligently expressed, as great measures are ratified by THE PEOPLE among ourselves, on great occasions. Let us "do nothing rashly," rather than "recognize" and "congratulate," literally with the speed of lightning, for these things are now done by telegraph! regardless of the risk of exposing our noble institutions to contempt by such parallels, or of having the world to say, after each fresh failure on the part of these newly proclaimed Republics, "who cares for the cheap recognition of the United States?"

We ought to hold ourselves higher. It was said, and with striking truth, of a great American statesman, referred to in the former volume, and who died in 1850, "He did not believe that by suddenly 'pro-

claiming' Republics they were to be made. He knew that change was not always for the better, and when too rapid could scarcely be good. He knew all excellence to be of slow growth, with nations as persons; that it comes of patience, education, and long training. He saw also that these suddenly 'proclaimed' Republics were totally different from ours. His knowledge of the Constitution of the United States taught him this. He believed that the inherent tendencies of Republics starting into life instantaneously, were to disorder. He feared their deteriorating influences upon us. More especially did he fear it from our predisposition summarily to applaud all movements against existing authority in Europe, no matter what their nature, or who their instruments. He appreciated too much the immense value of our own institutions to behold without grief the danger of disparagement to them by the odium likely to be brought upon Republics through the abuses of that word abroad."

When, in 1848, the American Minister in Paris (the author of this work) recognized the new Republic of France, the circumstances were as different as they could well be from some which have since existed on such occasions. The American Represen-

tative acted then with deliberation, and as he should have done, and his act was, upon deliberation, approved by his Government and country. But even he soon came to have heavy doubts of the success of the movement. The recent act of the House of Representatives of the United States in refusing as yet to "congratulate" the new Republic of Spain, *may* indicate, on the part of some at least who voted in the negative, a proper sense of what is due to our own self-dignity, and of the real value of Republics, properly established and maintained.—Ed.]

I found that both he and Lord Aberdeen had been reading Mr. Walsh's book. They said that it contained much information. Sir William asked what pursuit Mr. Walsh was engaged in. I said, None, that I knew of, being, I believed, in easy circumstances. As the Cathedral came in full view, he said he understood that the edifices in England which made most impression upon Americans were the Gothic, as we had none in the United States—none, at least, that were ancient. I replied, that such was probably the case. He then remarked, that although we had no antiquities among us, we had a long race to run, which he hoped would prove fortunate. I said we were proud of the stock we

came from; on which Lord Aberdeen threw in the courteous quotation, *matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior.*

As we entered the Cathedral, the procession halting a moment, Sir William, next to whom I stood, cast his eye around, and in a low voice cited the celebrated inscription which appears in it to Sir Christopher Wren, "Si queris monumentum, circumspice." He added, that Sir Christopher was one of their greatest men, a great mathematician as well as architect, besides having various other merit.

March 31. In the course of a communication to the Secretary of State of this date, I mention two recent trials-at-law, which, from their connexion with public events and public feeling, seemed to claim a passing notice. One was that of Mr. Henry Hunt, a reformer, and popular leader of the day. He had acted as chairman of a great public meeting held near Manchester last August, to disperse which the military were called out in aid of the civil authority, and lives lost. He was tried at York, under charges of riot and conspiracy, and for assembling an unlawful multitude with a view to stir up hatred and contempt against the Constitution and Government. The trial lasted nine days, was said to

have been impartial, and ended in his conviction on the third charge; the jury acquitting him of the rest.

The other trial was that of Sir Francis Burdett, also a popular leader of high personal standing, a Member of Parliament, and an ancient Baronet of large estate. Being at his seat in Leicestershire, in August, when the news of what had happened at the Manchester meeting reached him, he addressed a letter to the electors of Westminster, whose representative he was in the House of Commons, condemning, in sharp and inflammatory terms, the conduct of the Government. It was on some parts of this letter that the prosecution was founded; which took the shape of an *ex officio* information against him for a libel tending to bring the Government into contempt, and excite sedition. The trial was held at Leicester, and resulted in his conviction. Sir Francis conducted his own defence with his usual ability and spirit. Both defendants were punished by the Court by fine and imprisonment.—[Sir Francis Burdett was the father of the present Baroness Burdett Coutts, a lady whose enlightened, no less than unbounded, charities, and vast munificence in aid of all benevolent objects, have caused her name to be held in the highest esti-

mation, besides being so well known for her kindness to strangers.—Ed.]

April 13. Had an interview with Lord Bathurst at the Colonial Office. It related to fresh disputes between officers of our squadron in the Mediterranean, and British officers of the garrison at Gibraltar.

His Lordship said, that he had requested me to call for the purpose of some conversation on this subject, and especially to inform me that the order which Governor Don, the British Commander-in-Chief at the garrison, had issued, forbidding the squadron to enter the port in consequence of these disputes, had not been ratified by his Majesty's Government—but, on the contrary, would be revoked. But he added, that being sincerely anxious for the restoration of harmony between our respective officers, he thought that the interdict had perhaps better not in prudence be recalled, until after the lapse of some little interval—a month or two, he intimated—that feeling on each side might have time to cool. He handed me the correspondence between Governor Don and Captain Brown, of our sloop the Peacock, in March, which treats of the disputes, and particularly of the duel between Lieutenant Downing, of the frigate

Guerrière, and Lieutenant Smith of the garrison. His Lordship desired to be understood as having no complaints to allege on behalf of his Government, and expressed regret that Governor Don, who had acted from the best motives, had not been furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the Court-Martial by which Mr. Downing had been acquitted. He concluded by referring to the letter addressed by the Navy Department to Commodore Stewart, by order of the President, in September last (the same which I read to Lord Castlereagh), respecting the former duels; a copy of which had also reached this Government through Governor Don. His Lordship said, that the sentiments of the President, so appropriate and conciliatory, had made upon his Majesty the impression they were justly calculated to produce, and requested that I would convey this assurance to my Government.

April 15. Dined at the Middle Temple with Mr. George Joy, formerly of Boston. It was a bachelor's dinner. The room in which we dined claimed the double distinction of having been the one in which Rogers wrote the "Pleasures of Memory," and which the late Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough occupied when at the bar.

General Sir George Walker, Mr. S. Williams, of Boston, and Mr. John Adams Smith, the Secretary of my Legation, were our party. The first had served in the wars of the Peninsula, under the Duke of Wellington, and was at the storming of Badajos in 1812. His brigade was of the fifth division and nine hundred strong; and of this number, five hundred fell. The other four hundred mounted the bastion from the river-side by ladders, and were among the successful. These were some particulars which he mentioned of that fearful night—for it was a night assault. The whole loss to the British Army he stated at about five thousand, including three hundred officers. Sir George himself received a musket-ball in his body and five bayonet wounds. His shattered frame sufficiently bespoke how he had suffered; but he seemed to have lost none of the animation of his mind.

Until this occasion, I was under an impression that the Duke of Wellington never was wounded; but Sir George Walker said, that not long after the storming of Badajos, he was struck by a random musket-ball in the side, in an affair with the French on the borders of France. It was merely a slight wound, and dressed on the spot. The Duke on receiving it

exclaimed "Hit at last!" and seemed much pleased.

April 18. Dined at Lord Harrowby's, who entertained the Diplomatic Corps. If Mr. Joy's dining-room was immortalized by the "Pleasures of Memory," his Lordship's dining-room came near to gaining a very different kind of immortality,—it being the one in which the Cabinet were to have dined with him on the evening that Thistlewood had fixed upon for murdering them all. This was not overlooked in our conversation; but we had other and more cheerful topics. Among the varieties of wine, we had hock of the vintage of 1648, of which it was remarked by our accomplished host, that King Charles might have drunk it.

April 20. Dined at Lord Castlereagh's. We had the Diplomatic Corps, and several foreigners of distinction.

His Lordship informed me that he had mentioned to Count Leiven, the Russian Ambassador, the desire of our two countries to ask the friendly umpirage of his Sovereign respecting the contested point between us under the Treaty of Ghent; and that the Count had, within a few days, shown him a despatch from Count Nesselrode, by which it appeared that the

Emperor would probably not object to lending himself to the joint wish of the two nations. His Lordship added, that Mr. Bagot, who is expected to set out on his embassy in about a month, would be instructed to make the proper application to the Emperor on the part of Great Britain, as soon as the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburgh was prepared to unite in it. I replied, that Mr. Campbell had already been, as I believed, instructed to do so; on which his Lordship remarked, that he was not aware of any other steps necessary for either party to take at present.

The Minister from * * * * * * * told me that the Ottoman Porte had recently been supplying Algiers with additional munitions of war, and avows a determination to protect the Barbary States; and that this determination would restrain the European Alliance from any measures of immediate coercion against those states. I asked, Why *restrain?* He answered that, The Sovereigns probably had it in mind to hold the Porte ultimately responsible for such a line of policy.

April 22. Dined at Mr. Robinson's, Somerset Place. Besides Mr. Robinson, we had, of the Cabinet, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart;

the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. C. Bathurst; and Lord Mulgrave; also, Sir William Grant, late Master of the Rolls; Mr. Planta; Mr. Hobhouse, of the Home Department; Mr. Angerstein; and other gentlemen; and the presence of Lady Sarah Robinson, and other ladies, added to the attractions of the table.

In the course of the evening, conversation turned on the Cato-street conspiracy, the trial of the offenders being in progress at the old Bailey, and two of them, Thistlewood and Ings, having been convicted of high treason. What follows was mentioned in connexion with this plot, viz., that, as soon as the precise knowledge of it came to the ears of the Cabinet through the disclosures made to Lord Harrowby in the Park, the Members met to determine upon their course. Some were for going to the dinner at Lord Harrowby's in the face of it all. They reasoned thus: that it seemed so desperate, that it would not be believed unless the conspirators actually came to Lord Harrowby's house; that they therefore ought to be allowed to do so, if such were really their intention; otherwise, the public might have room to say that the Ministers had been over credulous, and disposed to make the plot appear so very horrible,

only to excite indignation, and gain strength by suppressing it; and as to their personal safety, *that* might be secured by arming themselves, in addition to stationing proper guards in and near the house; and that the latter also would be the most certain way of capturing the whole of the conspirators, so that none might escape.

Those who took a different view of the subject said, that his Majesty's Ministers being in possession of evidence to satisfy reasonable men that a guilty purpose existed, they ought not to wait for the consummation of the crime, but arrest it in its progress; that public justice, and even humanity itself dictated this course, as life might be endangered, no matter what precautions were taken beforehand, if the conspirators were allowed to go on to the last step; that Ministers, conscious of the rectitude of their intentions, and not acting hastily, but on full deliberation and advice, must not regard public clamour, but consign the whole transaction to the judicial tribunals of the country without any delay that could be avoided, and abide the issue.

This is the course which it is known was adopted. It was further mentioned that *Lord Castlereagh* was for going to the dinner in the face of it all at the

hour invited, as if nothing had happened, and letting each gentleman arm himself if he thought proper; whilst the Duke of Wellington counselled to the course that was taken. The civilian and warrior would here seem to have changed places! We had delicious wines to add to the zest of all the conversation.

Mr. Robinson's residence is in one of the buildings within the quadrangle of Somerset House. When we had gone up to coffee, I approached, with some of the company, one of the back windows of the drawing-room which overlooks the Thames, where you here see three of the great bridges: Waterloo, Blackfriars, and Westminster. All were illuminated, which makes this city-view very striking by night, to those who see it for the first time.

CHAPTER XV.

VISIT FROM MR. WILBERFORCE.—THE SLAVE TRADE.—PIRACY.—IMPRESSMENT.—CATO-STREET CONSPIRACY—FIVE OF THE CONSPIRATORS CONVICTED AND EXECUTED.—DROITS OF THE CROWN.—DINNER AT LORD MELVILLE'S.—DEATH OF COMMODORE DECATUR.—VISIT TO THE ROYAL ARSENAL AT WOOLWICH.—ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN, LATE PRINCESS OF WALES, AT DOVER.—SPECIAL AUDIENCE OF THE KING.—DINNER AT PRINCE LEOPOLD'S.—DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S.—UNUSUAL INCIDENTS AT IT.—THE KING'S LEVEE.—CONVERSATION WITH MR. CANNING ON THE PUBLIC SPEAKING IN THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—DINNER AT MR. CANNING'S.

APRIL 24. To-day I had a visit from Mr. Wilberforce. He touched upon several subjects,—amongst them, Mr. Walsh's book. I found that he did not like the parts about slavery, and so expressed himself, in regret rather than censure. I remarked, that I thought allowances were to be made for us on that subject, considering the history of it from the day we were part of the British empire. He asked where Mr. Walsh received his education. I told him in the United States. He admitted that he was a man of abilities.

I asked him if there was no philanthropist in

England disposed, at this season of general peace, to exert himself for the abolition of privateering, as he had done to put down the slave-trade. He replied, that civilization and Christianity seemed equally to call for it. I said, "Let England, as the greatest maritime power, set the example, and other nations will follow."

I next asked, "And is there no man among you willing to devote himself to another labour of humanity, the abolition of impressment?" He joined in lamenting the evils to which it led, and said that he had hoped Sir Thomas Ackland would take it up in the House of Commons. I said, that if an end were put to it in England, as a home measure, an immense good would follow internationally, by the extinction of a cause of dissension, the most formidable that could exist between our two countries. He rejoined, that it was deeply important under that view.

After Mr. Wilberforce left me, I called on Sir Thomas Lawrence, (who had recently returned from the Continent,) for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the portrait of Mr. West. He remarked, that the death of Mr. West would not rob the picture of any advantage, the likeness having

been complete, as far as he could render it so, before he died. He further said, that the last injunction he had received from Mr. West before setting out upon his tour was, "on no account to touch the head again,"—"the venerable President being pleased to add," continued Sir Thomas, that it was "already perfect."

Should these last lines ever chance to meet the eye of any member of the Academy of Fine Arts in New York, whose walls I suppose still to be graced with this portrait of so distinguished a native son of America, it may not be unwelcome to him thus to know what his own opinion of it was, as thus expressed to Sir Thomas Lawrence.

April 28. Parliament was opened yesterday by the King in person. I attended under the usual notice to the Foreign Ministers from the Master of Ceremonies. The Speech was general in its terms; so much so that the Address to the Throne in reply to it passed both Houses without opposition. The New House of Commons is considered to be as favourable to the Ministry as the last, if not more so.

April 29. In my despatch to the Secretary of State I mention, as marking the end of the Cato Street conspiracy, that five of the conspirators, in-

cluding Thistlewood, the ringleader, had been convicted of high treason; that the remainder, six in number, had pleaded guilty; and that the five convicted by the jury had confessed, after conviction, that it was their intention to murder the Ministers. Their plan, it seems, was, that if they got to the house of Lord Harrowby, some one of their number was to knock at the door with a note in his hand, under pretence of desiring it to be delivered to Lord Harrowby, doing this in a manner to excite no suspicion in case of any one accidentally passing along the pavement. The rest of the band, from twenty to thirty in number, were to be close at hand, but subdivided into squads, the better to be out of view, which the night would have favoured. The servant opening the door was to have been instantly knocked down by this leader who carried the feigned note; and the opening of the door was to be the signal for the whole band to rush forward, enter the house, make for the dining-room, and had they found the Ministers there kill the whole, if possible, and as fast as possible, not sparing one, or even the servants who might have attempted to obstruct their passage onward. They had counted on the presence of from twelve to fifteen Members of the Cabinet at the

dinner-table. Thistlewood had once been an officer in the Militia, and afterwards, for a short time, in the line of the British Army in the West Indies, and was a daring, desperate man.

May 1. Thistlewood and four of the conspirators are hung.

May 7. Write to Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury. Inform him that I will, in future, send, for the library of his department, all the documents published by both Houses of Parliament, every Session, according to his request. I call his attention to the debate in the House of Commons on the droits of the Crown, pointing out the speech of Sir James Mackintosh from the justice it renders to the United States, at the breaking out of the war of 1812, in not seizing the property of the co-belligerent found within their jurisdiction, but, on the contrary, allowing six months after the declaration of war for all British merchant-ships to get off, and afterwards even enlarging that period; which Sir James characterised as conforming to the beneficent old common-law principle of Magna Charta, which England, he said, had departed from.

May 16. Dined at Lord Melville's, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Rose, British Minister at

Berlin, and Mrs. Rose—the Russian Ambassador and Countess Leiven—Lord and Lady Binning—Lady Castlereagh, the Ambassador from the Netherlands, Mr. Planta, Mr. Bagot and others—made the company. Among the table ornaments was a very beautiful representation of Neptune, in alabaster, holding in his hand the trident of the ocean.

Topics during the dinner and evening were such as the new reign suggested. One other, a foreign topic, shared attention — the death of Commodore Decatur, the account of whose fall in a duel with Commodore Barron, near Washington, the latter being severely wounded, had just become known in London. To Mr. Bagot, who sat next to me, I spoke of him, lamenting in his death the loss of a personal friend and old schoolfellow, besides his loss to his country. It was known to me that Mr. Bagot had made his acquaintance in Washington, as well as that his accomplished wife was known to Mrs. Bagot. Mr. Bagot spoke of him in the handsomest terms, not for my ear alone, but for that of the company also. His closing words were, "All that he said or did was ever carried off with a soldierly grace." And let that old schoolmate and friend pay him the passing tribute of adding to words so true, that a lofty

patriotism ever animated all his thoughts and deeds; that he was a shining example to others in a profession which he desired to lift up to the highest pitch, not only by his valour and naval accomplishments, but by the noble ambition of intellectual improvement in other fields, which he seemed to cherish but the more with advancing years; so that, had he lived longer, his country might have beheld in him a fame even more full-orbed than that which his untimely death cut short.

May 17th. Attended the King's Levee, though not yet having received my new letters of credence. One of my objects was to see the Duke of Wellington, and endeavour to obtain some information respecting the course of education pursued with the military cadets in England, as far as the system was in print or its rules otherwise made public. I saw the Duke, who said he was not sure that there was much in print on the subject, but promised me all that was to be had, saying that there were no secrets about it.

May 26th. Visited the Royal Arsenal and other military establishments at Woolwich. Taking letters from the Duke of Wellington to Lieutenant-General Ramsay, and to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military Academy, I saw everything; and

to far more advantage than I could undertake to describe what I saw. The cannon foundry—the places for smiths' work, carpenters' work, and for making cartridges, bomb-shells, grenades, and shot—the various machinery—the barracks, and places for manufacturing Congreve rockets—the boring-houses and model-houses,—any single one of these items, not to mention others, might overtask my powers of minute description. There seemed to be stores and military supplies of every description for all the exigencies of war, even to sand-bags, fascines, and scaling-ladders, and whether for land or sea-service, accumulated in vast quantities. The cannon in depôt amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand pieces. The whole number, it was said, would cover fourteen acres. It is known that not only did the British army draw its supplies from this great establishment during the late European wars, but that the troops of the Continental powers were largely supplied also from its almost inexhaustible stores. It was stated that often, whilst hostilities were going on, a million of ball-cartridges for muskets were among the weekly issues from the proper workshop.

The party with me consisted of Mr. M'Kenzie and other gentlemen. Rockets were let off, about a dozen in number, under the direction of Sir William

Congreve, that we might see the effect of horizontal firing with them. Those designed to be thrown into towns, or otherwise, to produce a conflagration, were in part composed of combustibles prepared by Dr. M'Culloch, the chemist of the establishment, which are scarcely to be extinguished by water, resembling in this respect the Greek fire. One was ignited for our inspection, upon which water was thrown without putting out the flame. Some of the artillery were exercised daily in firing at a target with ball-cartridge. The artillery, now reduced to seven or eight thousand, had amounted to thirty thousand during the war. The wood-work for the carriages and other apparatus was of oak, ash, or elm. We visited the range of stables where the artillery-horses were kept. They were fine-looking animals, and we were told cost the Government about fifty pounds sterling a piece.

The barracks for the troops were extensive, and seemed highly complete and comfortable. The dining-room of the officers with two drawing-rooms adjoining, were spacious and well furnished. Another part of the building has the advantage of an extensive library and a reading-room. At a little distance from the principal barracks, stands a row of small

brick houses, all white, looking very neat. These were built for such of the common soldiers as were married; and we learned that the number of school-mistresses attached to the whole British army for instructing children born in the families of the common soldiers, was very great.

In the model-room we saw various weapons of different ages and countries. They were chiefly brought from Paris after the conquest of 1814, and had been accumulated in that capital from all parts of the world, as French trophies. Enough there was to fix the eye of the warrior, and raise reflections in the moralist. We saw the armour of the Chevalier Bayard, and the identical mask worn by the "Man in the Iron Mask." The latter was wholly closed up in the face, except a small aperture, made to open and shut, through which food was introduced. In the same room was a plan, upon a large scale, of Quebec.

Repairing to the Military Academy, we were shown that part of the system. We saw plans and drawings of all kinds of fortifications, and all manner of instruments necessary for carrying on a military education. Models of Gibraltar and Bergen-op-Zoom were in view, executed in wood like that of Quebec.

The cadets were at their studies, sitting at forms in three rows; their uniform, blue, faced with red. Their hours of study, in presence of a professor, were from nine until twelve in the forenoon, and from three until five in the afternoon. A lieutenant-governor, an inspector, and four professors, were the officers of the Institution. The cadets receive from Government two shillings and sixpence sterling a day, which supplies them with clothes and pocket-money, and in all other respects are found by the Institution. The situation is in much request, and the Institution contained about one hundred and fifty cadets. Besides their own exercises in the field, they have the advantage, from being close to the Royal Artillerists at the Barracks, of witnessing all the evolutions of the latter. The Military Academy at Sandhurst, designed chiefly for the sons of British officers who fell in battle, or otherwise perished in the service, contained, we were informed, about three hundred cadets, and fifteen or twenty teachers. The branches taught at each were much the same, and consisted mainly of ancient and modern history, modern languages, fortification, gunnery, drawing, and mathematics.

We finished the visit by partaking of a collation

at the quarters of Colonel Bingham, whose obliging attentions we all experienced.

June 6th. Went to the House of Lords under a notice received from Sir Robert Chester, to witness the ceremony of the King giving his assent to some bills. It seems that, by ancient usage, the Sovereign gives his assent, in person, to the first bill which Parliament passes after the commencement of a new reign. On this occasion, it was the bill establishing the Civil List to which he assented; and some others being ready, he assented to them also. In the Ambassador's box we had, besides the Corps proper, Count Rostopchin, Governor of Moscow when it was burnt during the invasion of Napoleon in 1812. He came with the Russian Ambassador; and we had also Prince Lichtenstein, who came with the Austrian Ambassador.

There was a thinner attendance than usual of Members of the Cabinet in the House of Lords, and about the Throne. This was noticed in our box; and there seemed something of coldness in the whole ceremony; for which, perhaps, the Queen's arrival at Dover yesterday served to account.

June 14. Had a special audience of the King to deliver my new credentials. I had written to Lord

Castlereagh to ask it, and his answer was fixed for to-day, of which I informed the Master of Ceremonies. The latter conducted me to the door of the audience-room in the Palace. The King was attended by Lord Bathurst. I delivered the President's autograph letter to his Majesty, using much the same language as when delivering my credentials to him as Prince Regent, mentioned in Chapter VIII. of the former work, and was received in the same way.

The new Spanish Ambassador, the Duke de Frias, also had his audience of reception, as successor to the Duke of San Carlos, recalled since the change of Government in Spain.

In the evening, I dined at Prince Leopold's, Marlborough House, who entertained a portion of the Diplomatic Corps and other guests; amongst them, the Bishop of Salisbury, who superintended the education of the late Princess Charlotte. Our distinguished host dispensed his attentions cordially to his company. The appointments of the table were beautiful; the plate and other ornaments having been selected for the Heiress Presumptive to the Throne on the occasion of her marriage to Prince Leopold.

June 15. Attended the Drawing Room, and at

seven in the evening dined at Lord Castlereagh's. We had all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, with other guests, Lord Strangford of the number, whose literary accomplishments make him so well known.

A very few minutes after the last course, Lord Castlereagh, looking to his chief guest for acquiescence, made the signal for rising, and the company all went into the drawing-rooms. So early a move was unusual; it seemed to cut short, unexpectedly, the time generally given to conversation at English dinners after the dinner ends. It was soon observed that his Lordship had left the drawing-rooms. This was still more unusual; and now it came to be whispered, that an extraordinary cause had produced this unusual scene. It was whispered by one and another of the corps that his Lordship had retired into one of his own apartments to meet the Duke of Wellington as his colleague in the Administration, and also Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman as counsel for the Queen, in the disputes pending between the King and Queen.

The Queen's arrival in England was unexpected to the King and his Ministers, and well understood to have been against the strong wishes of both. The event produced much excitement, and suspended, in

a great degree, the interest of other political topics. As soon as she landed, the Ministers took their measures for instituting proceedings against her in Parliament, on the ground of imputed misbehaviour since she was last abroad. She denied the imputations and called for proof. The proceedings against her, which originated in a message from the King to both Houses, had actually commenced, but were arrested in the House of Commons by a portion of the Members, purporting to be common friends of both King and Queen, who desired that a subject so unfitted for public discussion should, if possible, be compromised. The dinner at Lord Castlereagh's was during this state of things, which explains the incidents at its close, the disputes having pressed with anxiety on the King's Ministers. That his Lordship did separate himself from his guests for the purpose of holding a conference in another part of his own house, in which the Duke of Wellington joined him, as representing the King, with Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman as representing the Queen, was known from the formal protocol afterwards published of what took place on that very evening. It was the first of the conferences held with a view to a compromise between the Royal disputants.

June 27. I learn from a good source, that the dissolution of the late Government at Buenos Ayres has been attended with circumstances so important as to induce Sir Thomas Hardy, the British naval officer in command in that quarter, to despatch one of the vessels of his squadron to England, with a special account of them.

June 28. Attend the Levee at Carlton Palace. Converse with several of the Diplomatic Corps on the state of things between the King and the Queen. All are full of the topic. * * * * * * * * says, that the sensibilities of the King are intense and vehement; nothing can ever reconcile him. He also says, that, of the Royal Dukes, * * * * and * * * * * * * [The Dukes of York and Clarence are supposed to be here indicated.—Ed.] and one other, go with the King; not so certain as to the rest. And he adds, that the Ministers, almost unanimously, are now satisfied that there are grounds to go upon against the Queen. None of the corps dare touch the subject—at least, in the present stage of it—with any of the Cabinet; so I suppose, it being none of their concern; but things leak out, for in England everything soon becomes public.

I converse with Mr. Canning on the speaking in

the House of Commons. I mention to him Sir James Mackintosh's remark; he accedes to it; says it is true as a general rule, that their speaking must take *conversation* as its basis, rather than anything studied, or stately. The House was a business-doing body and the speaking must conform to its character; it was jealous of ornament in debate, which, if it came at all, must come as without consciousness. There must be method also; but this should be felt in the effect, rather than seen in the manner; no formal divisions, set exordiums or perorations, as the old rhetoricians taught, would do. First, and last, and everywhere, you must aim at reasoning; and if you could be eloquent, you might be at any time, but not at an appointed time. To this effect he expressed himself, though I do injustice to his language. Foremost for his day, as a speaker in the House of Commons, perhaps in its most brilliant sphere of oratory, I listened with interest whilst such a master casually alluded to its rules.

I spoke of the House of Lords; remarking, that in that body, indeed, I had anticipated a style of speaking somewhat more like conversation, not only from its fewer numbers, but component materials; but that, to my observation as yet, its oratory seemed

rather elaborate and ambitious, with much that would seem to indicate painstaking, in a degree beyond that which I had witnessed in the House of Commons. He acquiesced; but added, that some of its chief speakers had been formed in the House of Commons. I replied, that perhaps that might account for what had also struck me so far, in listening to the debates of each House—namely, that the average speaking among the Peers was best. He agreed to it, as a present fact; remarking, that another reason perhaps was, that the House of Peers, for its numbers, was better stocked with men thoroughly educated.

The day was hot—excessively so for England. The King seemed to suffer; he remarked upon the heat to me and others. It is possible that other heat may have aggravated, in him, that of the weather. Before he came into the entrée-rooms from his closet, * * * * * *, of the Diplomatic Corps, taking me gently by the arm, led me a few steps with him, which brought us into the recess of a window. "Look," said he. I looked, and saw nothing but the velvet-lawn, shaded by trees, in the Palace gardens. "Look again," said he. I did, and still my eye took in only another part of the same scene. "*Try once*

more," said he, cautiously raising a finger in the right direction. * * * * * * had a vein of drollery in him. I now, for the first time, beheld a peacock displaying his plumage. At one moment he was in full pride, and displayed it gloriously; at another, he would halt, letting it droop, as if dejected. In his wake, a smaller bird, of glossy feathers (the female), followed, teasing and annoying the peacock at every turn. "Of what does that remind you?" said * * * * * *. "Of nothing," said I, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense,*" for I adopted the King's motto for him; and then added, that *I* was a republican, *he* a monarchist; and that if he dreamed of unholy comparisons where royalty was concerned, I should have to tell upon him, that it might be reported to his Court! He quietly drew off from me, smiling, and I afterwards saw him slyly take another member of the Corps to the same spot, to show him the same sight.

July 10. Dined at Mr. Canning's, Gloucester Lodge. We had Sir William Scott; Sir William Grant; Mr. Wilmot, of the House of Commons; Mr. Planta; Mr. Backhouse; Mr. Stratford Canning; Mr. Smith, of the House of Commons; Mr. Frere, British Minister in Spain during the cam-

paign of Sir John Moore; and the Marquis of Tichfield.

The conversation was in part literary. Mr. Canning, Mr. Frere, Sir William Scott, and Sir William Grant, were all members of the Literary Club, so well known in Johnson's time, and still kept up. Its number is limited to forty, and its meetings are held at the Thatched House. Sir William Scott was intimate with Johnson and one of his executors.

The authorship of Junius became a topic, the death of George III. having occasionally revived it. Most of the company held the belief, or inclined to it, that Sir Philip Francis was the man. I observed that Sir William Scott did not join in this opinion, but expressed no open dissent. It seemed with him, *Curia advisare vult.* He remarked, that it was no new thing in English literature for the author of a celebrated work to remain unknown; this was still the case with the book entitled "The Whole Duty of Man," written in the time of Charles I.—[All are doubtless more or less familiar with the incident occurring one day after a dinner at Holland House. Advancing towards Mr. Francis (he was not then Sir Philip), Rogers asked permission to put a question to him. "At your peril, sir," said the former, who is

said to have been sometimes a little irritable, and perhaps suspected what was coming. Whereupon Rogers quietly turned away, observing that if Sir Philip Francis were not Junius, he was certainly Brutus. And yet, notwithstanding the prevalent opinion, founded on what many suppose to be unanswerable evidence, that Sir Philip Francis was the author of those celebrated letters, it cannot escape recollection that a very able and elaborate article in the Quarterly Review more than thirty years ago, supposed to have been written by Lord Brougham, ascribed the authorship to Lord Lyttelton, upon grounds which seemed to be equally unanswerable.—ED.]

Mr. Canning related an anecdote pertinent to the topic, derived from the present King when Prince of Wales. It was to the following effect:—the late King was in the habit of going to the Theatre once a week at the time Junius's Letters were appearing, and had a page in his service of the name of Ramus. This page always brought the play bill in to the King, at tea time, on the evenings when he went. On the evening before Sir Philip Francis sailed for India, Ramus handed to the King, at the same time when delivering the play bill, a note from Garrick to Ramus, in which the former stated that there would

be no more letters from Junius. This was found to be the very night on which Junius addressed his laconic note to Garrick, threatening him with vengeance. Sir Philip did embark for India the next morning, and, in point of fact, the letters ceased to appear from that day. The anecdote added, that there lived with Sir Philip at the time, a relation of Ramus's, who sailed in the morning with him. The whole narrative excited much attention, and was new to most of the company. The first impression it made was, not only that it went far towards showing, by proof almost direct, that Sir Philip Francis was the author, but that Garrick must have been in the secret.

The style of the letters was criticised. Mr. Canning did not think very highly of it; nor did Sir William Scott, though not going as far in dispraise as Mr. Canning. Sir William Grant also said, that Fox never admired the style.

Mr. Canning asked me if Mr. Walsh would not be satisfied with what the Edinburgh Review had said of his work. Sir William Scott said, that he thought he ought to be. Sir William said he had read it, and that it was a book that ought to be read. He expressed no further opinion. Mr. Canning said that

he had looked into it, without yet having been able to go through it as he wished. Sir William Grant mentioned that he was at Quebec when it was attacked by our troops under Montgomery in '75. He remarked that Montgomery had fallen gallantly, but added that the attack was very desperate. I said that his name was still dear to us; it lived in our patriotic celebrations.

We sat at table until past eleven, and I only give scraps of the conversation. It flowed tranquilly on, with unstudied point and ease, the whole time, from a company than which it would perhaps not have been easy to assemble in England one of the same size, comprising more of intellectual power, in union with personal accomplishments.

July 12. Went with my family last night to see the "Comedy of Errors." We were in the private box of Mr. Coutts. Jones and Comer performed the two Antipholis, and Liston and Farren the two Dromios. Miss Stevens gave us the Hunting Chorus in Der Freischutz.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE WEST-INDIA TRADE, AND OTHER SUBJECTS.—UMPIRAGE OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA UNDER THE DISPUTED ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF GHENT.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S; AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S; AT MR. PLANTA'S; AT THE DUKE OF SUSSEX'S.—THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE KING AND QUEEN.—REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.—COURSE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO IT.

JULY 13. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh at his house, St. James's Square. It was for the purpose of expressing to him the sentiments of my Government in regard to the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British West Indies and North American Colonies. I said, that after the unfortunately abortive discussions between the two countries on this subject, it might seem almost superfluous to recur to it again; but that I had the instructions of my Government to do so. I was merely told to reiterate assurances; and that the supplementary Act of Congress, passed on the 15th of May, with a view to render more complete the prohibitions which the United States had found it necessary to impose on this intercourse, had been

adopted in no unfriendly spirit, but solely in the hope of securing to their citizens that equal share of the shipping employed in the trade which substantial reciprocity was thought to call for; and that whenever a disposition was felt by his Majesty's Government to allow this object to be secured to us by a commercial arrangement between the two countries, it would be met by the President with an earnest wish to substitute a system of the most liberal intercourse, in place of the interdictions by statute, to which we had finally, though with reluctance, had recourse.

His Lordship replied, that no unfriendly policy, on our part, was inferred by his Majesty's Government from the measure in question; far from it. It was considered simply as a commercial regulation of our own, adopted to meet theirs; and in nowise incompatible with the relations of harmony subsisting between the two nations, which, he hoped, might long continue.

I now introduced the subject of the design imputed to France, to erect a Throne at Buenos Ayres, and place a Prince of the Bourbon line upon it. I said that I had no information from my Government on the subject; but that if the accounts were well

founded, I knew how my Government and country would deplore such a course on the part of France. His Lordship replied, that it was a total surprise upon England; that the Cabinet had heard nothing of it until very recently, and were still willing to hope that it might not prove true to the extent stated, otherwise it showed a spirit of intrigue, which he had hoped had gone out of fashion among nations. It was the more strange in the eyes of England, as it had been going on, if true, at the very time when the Foreign Enlistment Bill was brought before Parliament. I remarked upon the difference between the course of the United States and France; for that whilst we had expressly disclaimed all intention of accepting any special advantages over other nations, from the new South American communities, it appeared, if the accounts were true, that France was for appropriating every advantage to herself. He admitted that the disclosures wore that appearance, but again expressed the hope that they might not prove well founded.—[If the rumour of the design here imputed to France in 1820, were really well founded, it would seem that the ill-starred attempt of Napoleon III. to establish an Empire in Mexico forty years afterwards, was not the first in-

stance of a "*spirit of intrigue*," as Lord Castlereagh, and afterwards the Duke of Wellington, well called it, on the part of France, in matters in which the United States were so nearly concerned.—ED.]

I mentioned to his Lordship, before coming away, the arrival of Mr. Middleton in London, on his way to St. Petersburg as successor to Mr. Campbell, our present Minister at that Court, who was about to retire from the mission at his own request; and asked leave to introduce him to his Lordship, at any time when convenient; on which he named the day following.

July 14. Call on Lord Castlereagh with Mr. Middleton. After the introduction, Mr. Middleton mentioned his desire to arrange, with the aid of my instrumentality, should any correspondence or other official acts with his Majesty's Government be required (he not being accredited to the English Court), such preliminary points respecting the umpirage at St. Petersburg on the slave question under the Treaty of Ghent, as might be necessary to bring it before the Emperor for his decision. Lord Castlereagh expressed his readiness to forward whatever objects Mr. Middleton had in view, that could be effected here; and it need scarcely be added that

my co-operation, whenever it could in any way be rendered useful, was as fully tendered.

July 15. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's. The Right Hon. W. W. Pole, of the Cabinet, and Mrs. Pole; Lady Ann Cullen Smith; Colonel Percy; Mr. and Mrs. Patterson, of Baltimore, and Miss Caton, of Annapolis; the Duchess of Wellington; my Wife; the Rev. Gerald Wellesley; and other gentlemen were of the company.

We went to dinner punctually a few minutes after seven, and what follows passed at table, or afterwards in the drawing-room.

Speaking of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, when I alluded to my visit there, under the Duke's obliging auspices, he said that one hundred and fifty cadets (a number which to me had appeared small for the whole British army) were found enough, as it was only for the artillery and engineers that the academy educated young men. The military school at Sandhurst was designed, he said, for young men who went into the line. The establishment at Woolwich, he thought, on the whole, as complete as any one of a similar nature known to him in Europe. Speaking of the Russian army, he said that it might probably be put down at from eight to nine hundred

thousand men, and its annual expense at about £9,000,000 sterling. The Russian soldiers, he added, were now well fed, well clothed, and well found in all respects. He remarked that the British army was the most expensive in Europe, and the Dutch next.

General Moreau was spoken of, who fell at Dresden. I said that when he was in the United States I had once passed an evening in his company; and that he spoke of his sensations of delight on gaining his first victory, saying that he then "felt on a level with his profession." The Duke remarked that, were he to speak of his feelings when it had been his fortune to gain a battle, he would say that they had generally been painful; for there was grief for those who had fallen; and next, it imposed instantly the necessity of doing more, as no commander could remain quiet after victory; a larger view opened to him, often causing anxiety from the difficulties to be overcome for insuring further advantages.* I said that it was a remark of Moreau's, made on the same occasion,

* The reader will recall one of Suetonius's remarks of Cæsar, that when he defeated his enemy, he also drove him out of his camp, and followed up the victory so warmly as to give him no time to rally.

that the fault with most commanders, however brave, was backwardness in taking the last step to bring on a battle, especially when armies were large, arising from deep moral anxiety; and, after all, the uncertainties of the issue. The Duke said it was a just remark.

The Archduke Charles of Austria being spoken of, the Duke repeated in effect what I had heard him say to my distinguished countryman, General Harper, of Maryland, namely, that he probably had more military science than any of the generals of Europe contemporary with him. The conversation proceeding, the Duke remarked, in this connexion, that a general might stand too much upon the rules of science while an engagement was going on; there could not be too much attention to them in all his arrangements beforehand, he said; but the battle once begun, "*the main thing to think of was hard fighting.*"

The Thistlewood conspiracy was touched upon, and some particulars related. One was, that on the night of the Duke of San Carlos's entertainment in Portland-place, when the Horse Guards were called out, it was believed that Thistlewood was in the crowd, intending mischief; but the presence of the

Horse Guards had kept all quiet. When the daring character of the plot was spoken of, the Duke's opinion was, that if the conspirators had got into Lord Harrowby's dining-room and found the Cabinet all at dinner, most of them would probably have been killed; "how," said he, taking a table-knife in his hand, "could we have defended ourselves with a weapon like this, against men rushing in to murder us, armed with swords, pistols, and hand-grenades?" He said that, having taken off the Ministers, their first step would probably have been to rob the banks in the Strand.

He asked me if there was any foundation for the rumour of our having any serious misunderstanding with France;—he here alluded to a late Act of Congress imposing a duty of eighteen dollars a ton upon French vessels in our ports. I said No, it was merely a measure of commercial policy—a countervailing measure on our side. He said that, as far as he understood the question, we appeared to be in the right.

If the Duke's guests found his conversation interesting, his table called up historical reminiscences. When the dessert courses came, the fruit-dishes, plates, vases, and other ornamental pieces of a ser-

vice of china presented to him by the King of Prussia, were illustrative of his own life. Each piece represented some passage in it. It began with a view of Dengan Castle in Ireland, where he was born; gave you Eton in England, where he was educated; took you to India, and showed you Poonah, Assaye, Seringapatam, and other places, marking his career of victory and fame in that country; brought you back to Europe, and gave you his achievements in the Peninsular war, Vimiera, Talavera, the lines of Torres Vedras, Badajoz, Vittoria, and so on, until, finishing the story of renown in the Peninsula, you come up to Belgium, where the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo, closes the long scene of glory. One of the dessert-plates set before me, had the view of Busaco; another that of Salamanca. Thus, all his campaigns were traced; and with them, an outline of European and Asiatic history for a quarter of a century in many of its momentous and decisive events. The paintings and scenery on each piece were beautifully executed. Pieces of another service, made at Dresden, and presented to the Duke by the King of Saxony, were on the table, and also historical.

I should sin almost against my country, to close the recollections of an evening so passed without say-

ing, that none at table were better fitted to win favourable opinions, by all attractiveness and grace, than our fair country-women, Mrs. Patterson and Miss Caton, of Annapolis, granddaughters of the illustrious Carrol of Carrolton. The former subsequently married the Marquis Wellesley; the latter, Lord Stafford.—[See p. 85 of the former work, where these ladies are spoken of in complimentary terms by the Prince Regent, on the occasion of the author's first presentation to him at Carlton House. —Ed.]

I take occasion to add, that the Duke sent me, with a courteous note, a paper containing the regulations which apply to the age and course of study in detail necessary to the admission of cadets to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich; which I transmitted to my Government for the use of the War Department.

July 19. I yesterday received in a communication from Mr. Goulbourn, of the Colonial Department, the copy of a despatch addressed on the 16th of June to Lord Bathurst by the Governor of Gibraltar, respecting the differences which have existed between the officers of our squadron in the Mediterranean, and the British officers of that garrison. Annexed

to it was also a copy of a letter of the 3rd of June from Governor Don to Commodore Bainbridge, of our flag-ship Columbus. From these documents it appeared that Governor Don considered the differences as all happily settled. I forwarded them to my Government.

July 20. In a despatch sent to the Secretary of State, I mention that Mr. Stratford Canning had had his audience of leave of the King, and might be expected to embark soon for Washington. I also transmit to the Department a pamphlet containing all the documents published in London, on the imputed designs of France to establish a throne at Buenos Ayres, and place upon it a Prince of the House of Bourbon, the subject having awakened attention in the highest political circles. I mention that the Duke de Cazes, the newly-arrived Ambassador from France, did not admit the documents to be genuine, and disavowed ever having seen the South American Envoy, Gomez; but that whether he had disavowed for the Marquis Desolles also, I had not been informed. I allude to the debate in the House of Commons on the call for information relative to these documents; in the course of which Dr. Lushington argued the broad principle that

England ought to recognize, immediately and fully, the independence of Buenos Ayres; but that Lord Castlereagh had dissented from such a policy; and that Sir James Mackintosh, in his speech, had intimated, that since the altered state of things in Spain, the question of desiring a separation of the Colonies from the parent state had essentially changed. I also call attention to what Mr. Canning said in the debate,—viz., that as history had shown the condition of Colonies to be more acquiescent and servile under the government of popular assemblies than under the authority of even absolute monarchies, (*quære*—has it?) all those who had wished to see the Colonies emancipated from monarchical Spain, ought to cherish the wish more strongly now that Spain had established a popular Government.

I mention further, that our Minister in Spain, Mr. Forsyth, had communicated to me his impression that the informal agents in London, from Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, had held a meeting in May, at which it was determined to address applications to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, desiring that Princes of their families might be given to Spanish America generally; and that one might be specially selected from the Brazils for Buenos Ayres—for so I read his

letter; but I add, that as it came in cipher, there may have been some inadvertence in the copyist. I go on to inform the Secretary that I was not aware of the facts mentioned in Mr. Forsyth's letter; but had been informed, that since the establishment of the Constitution of 1812 in Spain, the agents of Chili, Buenos Ayres, and Venezuela, did meet in London, though with a very different object; that it was jointly to sign, as they did sign, according to my information, an address to the King of Spain, asking that their independence might be acknowledged; that this address was transmitted to Ferdinand through the Duke of San Carlos, then Spanish Ambassador in London, and that the answer received through the same channel in London was, that no proposition would be listened to, by *the Cortes* or King, that had not for its basis the return of the Colonies to their subjection to the mother country.

At seven o'clock, dined at the Russian Ambassador's, where we had the Duke of York, the Duke de Cazes, new French Ambassador, with nearly all the Diplomatic Corps; also Lord Castlereagh, the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford—[afterwards Duke and Duchess of Sutherland.—ED.], Lord Palmerston, and some others. Conversation could

not keep clear of the case of the Queen ; not, indeed, as a general topic, but sometimes in undertones, two and two—so it was in my neighbourhood.

July 22. Dined at Lord Castlereagh's. The dinner was given to the new French Ambassador. We had all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melville, Mr. Canning, Mr. C. Bathurst, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lord Amherst, Mr. Planta, Lord Ancram, and others.

I sat next to the Duke of Wellington, and had much conversation with him, the dinner lasting a good while, and being too large for general conversation. He spoke of parts of the war in the Peninsula, in ways greatly to interest me. He also adverted to the designs of France upon Buenos Ayres, as imputed, which he hoped might not be true ; if true, they would show an intrigue, he said, which England would not like, and not belonging to the age, which had "*excluded double-dealing from public affairs.*" I give his emphatic words. The member of the Bourbon family whom it was said France desired to put on a throne at Buenos Ayres, the documents stated to be the Prince of Lucca, nephew to the King of Spain.

July 24. Dined at Mr. Planta's, New Burlington

Street. We had Lord Strangford; Mr. Stratford Canning; Mr. de Neuman, of the Austrian Embassy; Baron Bulow, of the Prussian; Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Gordon, and other English gentlemen.

Many subjects were touched: the Queen; Junius; Cobbett; the London newspapers. Regarding the last, the amount of capital, in money and mind, embarked in some of the leading ones, struck me as very remarkable, on facts which were mentioned; meaning by capital in *mind*, the men of education and talents, formed at the universities or otherwise, who are silently auxiliary to the Editors. Lord Strangford, who had been British Minister at Rio Janeiro, told me that he knew Mr. Sumpter, of South Carolina, our Minister at that Court, and esteemed him highly. His conduct in the affair of the Queen's carriage at Rio Janeiro, which he narrated, was, he said, perfectly correct, to which the company appeared to assent.

July 26. Mr. and Mrs. Middleton, Mr. Stratford Canning, and Mr. Planta dine with us. Mr. Canning's prospects in the United States, in the mission to which he is destined, becomes a topic, and Mr. Planta enlivens us with pleasant sallies on the whole subject.

July 27. Dine with his Royal Highness the Duke

of Sussex at Kensington Palace. The Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Thanet, Lord Ebrington, the Marquis of Tavistock, Lord Anson, Mr. Coke, General Fitzroy, and others, made the company.

At table, I was between the Duke of Sussex and Duke of Hamilton. The latter had been much abroad, and talked on continental affairs, especially of the growing power of Russia.

The Duke of Sussex sat at the head of his table, in true old English style, and was full of cordiality and conversation. I cannot resist the satisfaction of putting down a small part of what fell from him. General principles of government coming to be spoken of, he expatiated on the benefits of free government; declaring, that as *all men, Kings as well as others, were perpetually prone to abuse power when they got to the possession of it, the only safe course was, to limit its exercise by the strictest constitutional rules.* In the palace of Kings, and from the son and brother of a King, I should not have been quite prepared for this declaration, but that it was not for the first time I had heard him converse in the same way. The sentiments which it embodied, even with new strength and precision, I now listened to with renewed pleasure. If such sentiments flourished so

near the British Throne, what may we not be allowed to think of the race of sturdy and spirited Englishmen who settled the United States in the days of Elizabeth, Cromwell, and the Stuarts?—[Is not this a fresh tribute to our common stock, and ought not such reflections to inspire fresh sentiments of mutual respect and good will on the part of each nation towards the other?—ED.]

August 12. The case of the Queen excites an interest so absorbing, that I thus reported to the Secretary of State its position and aspect.

I mentioned that all attempts at a compromise having failed, her case was transferred from the House of Commons to the House of Lords; that there was no abatement of the excitement which it had produced; that the proceedings had taken the shape of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which a Committee of the Lords reported against her, and that it was under the allegations of this Bill that she was to be put upon her trial; that its provisions went to deprive her of all her rights and prerogatives as Queen Consort of the Realm, and to dissolve the marriage between herself and the King; and that the charge laid against her, was that of misconduct with Bartholomew Bergami, an Italian, whom she

took into her service, and advanced to a high station in her household.

I mentioned that these proceedings were strongly objected to, whatever might have been her misconduct. It was alleged, that they overthrew the fundamental rule of British jurisprudence, which separated judicial from legislative powers; that in this respect, a bill of pains and penalties was like acts of attainder and confiscation, which were odious in English history, as associated with arbitrary times; that it overstepped all the ordinary barriers of the law, and was wounding to the Constitution; that no private subject in Britain could obtain a sentence of divorce judicially, for the cause mentioned in the bill, without allowing to the respondent the right of recrimination; but that the Queen was entirely cut off from it. That she had also been refused a list of the witnesses against her, as well as a specification of the place or places where, or of the time when, her imputed misconduct had taken place; all parts of the continent of Europe, which she had visited during a space of six years, having been left open to her accusers on both those material heads; but in this connexion I mention also, that her accusers had given assurances that the proceedings against her

would not be hurried to her disadvantage; for that after the testimony against her was closed, she would be allowed full time for taking measures to repel it.

I mentioned, that when the bill was reported in the House of Peers, Earl Grey declared, that their Lordships, in consenting to act upon it, had placed themselves, for all that concerned the Queen's hopes of justice, and their own responsibilities, in the three-fold and awful situation of legislators, prosecutors, and judges; and that in the House of Commons, amongst other vehement denunciations of the bill from different Members, Mr. Bennet had warned the Ministers against going on with a proceeding, at the consequences of whichthe boldest mind might shudder.

I remarked, that whilst it belonged to the English, in Parliament and out of it, to exaggerate incidents of political danger, the question of the Queen's trial was, without doubt, one which seemed to be rising in importance under the keen personal sensibilities embarked in it on both sides; that there were not wanting persons who said, that, should the Queen be degraded, and the King embrace the option which would then be open to him of another marriage, and issue spring from it, the very succession to the monarchy might become endangered, as succeeding Parlia-

ments had often been known to undo the acts of prior Parliaments passed in violation of received opinions of constitutional right; and because, not only the immediate brothers of the King, but their descendants, male and female, would have the great stake of a throne in the inculcation of that doctrine.

Such was the purport of my communication. I stated also, that the Session of Parliament might be considered as substantially at an end; that it had stood adjourned since the middle of July, and although to meet again in a week from the time I wrote, it was not supposed that any further business would be done, beyond that which related to the Queen; her case occupying, since it first arose, so much of the time of both Houses, as to have abridged, in amount and interest, all other proceedings. That even the Coronation, a ceremony which it was believed the King had much at heart, from the long interval since there had been one in England, was postponed on this ground; and that thus the calls of public business and desire of kingly display, were alike held in suspense by the dispute.

August 14. On the 11th instant Mr. Stratford Canning embarks on his mission to the United States, in the "Spartan" frigate, from Portsmouth.

August 17. Lord Holland rose in the House of Lords yesterday, and stated that he designed, at an early day, to put certain questions to Ministers, for the purpose of obtaining information on the existing relations between Russia and England on the one hand, and between Russia, England, and Spain on the other. His reason for desiring the information arose, he said, from the manifesto recently issued by Russia on the subject of the revolution in Spain; the principles contained in which his Lordship denounced, as calculated to involve Europe in endless wars, and to endanger the peace and happiness of future generations. Lord Liverpool replied, that when the questions were put in a regular form, he would be ready with the proper explanations, adding, that there was nothing in the relations between England and Spain that was likely to lead to a renewal of hostilities.

Subsequently, Lord Liverpool, in the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, gave their explanations, on the part of the Ministry, respecting Spanish affairs. They were, that Great Britain was no party to any league among the Sovereigns of Europe for interfering with the cause of self-government in Spain; and that the communications from the British to the Spanish Government

had been founded upon a desire to keep up the relations of amity between the two countries, as well as a wish that the proceedings going on under the Cortes, might end in the establishment of a just and rational system of government for Spain; explanations which I communicated to the President, with the addition, that Lord Castlereagh had expressed, in conversation, similar sentiments to me.

August 18. Mr. George Washington Campbell, our late Minister at St. Petersburg, here on his return to the United States, Mr. John Adams Smith, and myself, pass the day in visiting Kew, Richmond, Twickenham, Hampton Court, and Windsor. At Windsor we went through the principal part of the Castle. In the church near Richmond we saw the monument of Pope, and the one he erected to his nurse; at Twickenham, his villa, his grotto, the stump of his old willow, the column raised in honour of his mother, *et cetera*. We went to Strawberry Hill, and had a rapid glance at that beautiful little Gothic residence, rendered immortal by the prince of letter-writers, Horace Walpole. At Hampton Court we saw the Maze, the enormous grape-vine, and all the rooms of the palace. At Kew, the gardens, and rooms of the old palace, the furniture of which had

all been left as when they were last occupied by the Royal Family, the late Queen having died there. We went also to Runnymede, the famous scene of Magna Charta, which we were especially anxious to see. All this was a good day's occupation; but having on this occasion only one day to give to it, we were industrious, and, at least, had a bird's-eye view of things, though certainly not more. The day was fine, we were off by six in the morning, and got back to town at eight in the evening.—[Fourteen hours in one day was hard work for sightseers; but the American Minister to London was under forty at that time, and, as far as *he* was concerned, could go through a good deal!—ED.]

CHAPTER XVII.

TRIAL OF THE QUEEN.—AMERICAN VESSELS BOUND TO FRENCH PORTS PERMITTED TO LAND THEIR CARGOES IN ENGLAND UNDER THE WAREHOUSING SYSTEM.—CONTINUATION OF THE QUEEN'S TRIAL.—MR. BROUGHAM IN THIS CONNEXION.—DINNER AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S, AT HARROW, IN HONOUR OF THE BIRTH OF THE DUKE OF BORDEAUX.—RATIFICATION OF THE FLORIDA TREATY.—DINNER AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—TERMINATION OF THE QUEEN'S TRIAL.—LONDON ILLUMINATED.—DINNER AT MRS. PORTER'S.—ANECDOTES OF NAPOLEON.—DINNER AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S, PORTLAND PLACE.—DINNER AT MR. COUTTS TROTTER'S.—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

AUGUST 26. Went to the House of Lords to attend the trial of the Queen. The attendance of Peers was very full. Lord Granville, Lord Erskine, Lord Redesdale, Lord Liverpool, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Ellenborough spoke to a point respecting the cross-examination of witnesses. No decision was pronounced upon it. Mr. Brougham, leading counsel of the Queen, also addressed the House, after which an adjournment took place until Monday. I was immediately under the Throne, being the place where the Foreign Ministers go, if inclining to attend.

August 30. Attend the trial of the Queen, the examination of witnesses still going on. The testimony is taken down by a short-hand writer, and printed every day, from his notes, for the use of all parties. Counsel as well as Peers are thus spared the labour of writing it down, and can be employing their minds instead of their hands.

September 4. Attend again ; the examination of witnesses continues. Several Peers took part in the examination—Lord Liverpool, Earl Grey, Earl Grosvenor, the Duke of Hamilton, and others.

September 9. The House of Lords adjourn, to afford an interval for the Queen to prepare for her defence, the case having now been seventeen days under hearing.

September 20. Mr. Middleton left London yesterday. I communicate to my Government a full account of all that was done with the British Government during his stay of more than two months, towards previous arrangements for bringing the Slave Question, under the Treaty of Ghent, before the Emperor of Russia as umpire; arrangements which would have been sooner perfected but for impediments to business created by the case of the Queen. The precise nature of these arrangements

need not be stated, any more than additional ones which afterwards became necessary, as the award was in our favour, and was followed by a satisfactory settlement of the whole case, as already mentioned in Chapter XIX. of the former work.

September 24. Dined with the French Ambassador, the Duke de Cazes, ten miles from town, at the seat of Lord Northwick, near Harrow. We had a portion of the Diplomatic Corps and other company; the attractiveness of the dinner being increased by the rural scenery surrounding us.

September 30. Having heard that some of our vessels bound to French ports had been permitted to land their cargoes at British out-ports under the warehousing acts, the heavy tonnage duty in France causing the American owners to suspend their original destination, I went to the Office of the Board of Trade to make application on the subject, and learned that it was the fact. I communicated the information to the Secretary of State, saying I had reason to know that this Government was not inattentive to the progress of our disputes with France respecting tonnage duties; and if they were not adjusted, would naturally turn them to account, more especially as they were occurring at a time when an

extension of the warehousing system, with a view to making England a centre of trade for the rest of the world was becoming, as past communications from me had made known, more than ever a favourite object of her commercial policy.

October 3. The House of Lords re-assembled in continuation of the trial of the Queen. After some introductory remarks from Lord Liverpool, disavowing on the part of the Government all improper dealing with the witnesses (a disavowal induced by the published letter of a Mr. Marietti), and stating his readiness to exhibit an account of all the moneys paid to the witnesses in support of the bill, Mr. Brougham, as counsel for the Queen, opened her case with great power and boldness. He declared that nothing should check him in fulfilling his duty; and that he would recriminate upon the King, if necessary. He said that an English advocate could look to nothing but the rights of his client; and that, even should the country itself suffer, his feelings as a patriot must give way to his professional obligations. This I thought too strong, if interpreted in the broad sense of which it is susceptible.

It is worth a passing notice that, during the adjournment of this momentous trial, Mr. Brougham

attended the assizes at Yorkshire, and engaged in a cause on behalf of a poor old woman, upon whose *pig-cot* a trespass had been committed. It was on the side of a common of upwards of one hundred acres, upon about *five yards* of which the *pig-cot* was alleged to have encroached. The poor woman had paid the lord of the manor a yearly rent of *sixpence* for it, and *sixpence* on entering. The *pig-cot* having been pulled down, the jury found for the old woman, and gave her forty shillings damages. To have been counsel for the Queen of the realm, and in such a case as this at the same time, is illustrative of the English Bar, and, individually, of Mr. Brougham.

October 6th. Go to the House of Lords. The Earl of Llandaff, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the Honourable Keppel Craven, and Sir William Gell, are examined on the part of the Queen, several Peers taking part in the examination; amongst them Lord Erskine, the Earl of Roseberry, and Earl Grosvenor.

October 9. Go again. Dr. Holland, Mr. Mills, and other witnesses are examined in her behalf. The testimony has assumed aspects so much in her favour, that I hear from high sources the Ministers are doubting, and that probably the bill will not be per-

sisted in. * * * * * * *, of our Corps, thinks that it will not.

October 10. After getting from the House of Lords yesterday, I went to dinner at the French Ambassador's, at Harrow. It was an entertainment on a brilliant scale, given in honour of the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, a new heir to the throne of the Bourbons. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers were there, the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Northwick, and others. A band of music was in attendance, playing at intervals, and the bells of Harrow rang merry peals. After dinner, from which we did not rise until a late hour, the house and grounds were illuminated, and the entertainment closed with an exhibition of fireworks at the bottom of the lawn. The inhabitants of Harrow and the neighbourhood, were out in great numbers on the skirts of the lawn, gazing at the spectacle.

Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and other members of the Cabinet had been expected at this entertainment, and their absence was a great disappointment to the distinguished host. Dinner waited for them; none knew the cause of the delay, when at length a messenger came with an apology. It appeared that a Council of the Ministers had been

unexpectedly summoned to meet at the Palace on the case of the Queen.

October 14. The trial of the Queen proceeds. John Powell, Filippo Pomi, and others, are examined.

October 16. Admiral Sir John Beresford and others are examined.

October 20. This morning I receive information from the Spanish Ambassador of the ratification of the Florida Treaty, and forthwith communicate it to my Government, sending the despatch to Liverpool to go by the first ship, that it may have the chance of conveying the information to Washington before it can arrive direct from Madrid.

October 24. The trial of the Queen goes on. Although I had information a fortnight ago that Ministers were deliberating as to an abandonment of the bill, subsequent testimony proving less favourable to her case, they determined to let it take its course; and I now write to my Government that there seemed to be no certainty as to the result.

November 11. Dined with the Duke de Frias, Spanish Ambassador. We had the Diplomatic Corps in part, and several English gentlemen. With the Spanish Ambassador I had an exchange of congratu-

lations on the final ratification at Madrid of the Florida Treaty.

Mr. * * * * * * told anecdotes of the Queen; amongst them, that when she lived at Blackheath she had many a time played blindman's buff with Sir William Scott, Mr. Canning, and others who made up her parties. He also said that Bergami had declared if he ever caught Alderman Wood in Italy, he would kill him, as he had been the means of making the Queen refuse fifty thousand pounds sterling a-year from the Government; of which sum, had it come into her hands, he, Bergami, would have had a handsome portion annually for life.

November 14. The trial is over which has so intensely riveted public attention in England, and excited, to some extent, the attention of Europe. The report to my Government of the final proceedings and result, was to the following effect:

I mention that the entire evidence and speaking being closed on the 30th of October, an adjournment of the House of Lords took place until the 2nd of November; the testimony alone, independent of the speeches of counsel and all interlocutory debates among the Peers, having extended to upwards of

nine hundred pages folio; that from the 2nd of November to the 6th, the Peers were occupied in debates upon the evidence, almost every Member assigning reasons for the vote he intended to give; that on the 6th the vote was taken and the bill passed to a second reading by a majority of twenty-eight. That on the 8th of November, another vote was taken, as to whether the clause providing for a divorce should be maintained in the bill, and passed in the affirmative; that in regard to this vote, several of the Peers who were opposed to the principle of the bill, gave their votes in *favour* of the clause for a divorce, in the hope, which they avowed, of rendering the bill still more exceptionable with some of the Members, (meaning the Bishops,) and thus increasing the chance of its ultimate defeat; and I also mention that the Ministers, who perceived this course, and were probably apprehensive of its effect, voted for striking out the divorce clause (otherwise known to be desired by the King) and found themselves in the minority.

I go on to state, that on the 10th of November the bill, with the divorce clause retained, was put to vote for a third reading; and that on this final vote it passed, by a majority of nine, one hundred and

eight voting for it, and ninety-nine against; and that amongst those who voted in its favour, were included the nine Peers who were Members of the Cabinet, and the whole Bench of Bishops, except four; that the majority being thus slender, and thus composed, Lord Liverpool, as head of the Ministry, rose and abandoned all further prosecution of the bill, declaring that he did so on the double ground of the smallness of the majority, and the strongly expressed sense of the country against the measure. I add, that a large number of the Peers who voted against the bill, did not give their votes, as they expressly stated, on any clear belief in the Queen's innocence, but voted on the ground of the unconstitutionality and inexpediency of the bill; and I state further, as a curious fact, that the parts of the evidence which had borne hardest upon the Queen, and on which those who supported the bill were driven in the end to rely most, had come from witnesses called and examined in her defence.

Such is a synopsis of the account I transmitted. The debates among the Peers grew stormy as the case approached its close. Earl Grey declared, that if their Lordships passed the bill, it would prove the

most disastrous step the House had ever taken. Earl Grosvenor said, that feeling as he did the evils which the erasure of the Queen's name from the Liturgy (a measure taken before her trial came on) was likely to entail upon the nation, as well as its repugnance to law and justice, he would, had he been Archbishop of Canterbury, have thrown the prayer-book in the King's face, sooner than have consented to it. On the other hand, the Duke of Montrose said, even after the Ministers had abandoned the bill, that so convinced was he of her guilt, that whatever others might think fit to do, he, for one, would never acknowledge her for his Queen.

London was illuminated, more or less, for three successive nights, under edicts put forth by popular feeling, at the overthrow of the bill. The streets, the theatres, the highways, gave testimony of the popular joy at the Queen's triumph; for so her friends and partisans called it, notwithstanding the loud assertions to the contrary kept up by those who took part against her.

An impartial spectator of the whole scene, admonished by his public situation to side with neither party, may be allowed to say, (what he thought and felt,) that the Ministry showed great wisdom in sur-

rendering up their measure as an offering to popular feeling, though they had carried the bill. Lord Rosslyn, in the course of his powerful speech, put their wisdom in a strong light by saying, amongst his other objections to the measure, that, had it passed, it would have become a formidable rallying point for disaffection throughout the kingdom, and have tended to bring the House of Lords into disrepute at a time when that branch of Parliament ought specially to desire and deserve popular approbation.

The trial exemplified striking characteristics of the English nation. A majority of the Peers held on to it with a firmness that the patricians of Rome could not have exceeded, until they carried their point by a conviction. Their sense of justice and pride satisfied, they allowed the popular part of the constitution to have play. The people, inflamed by wrongs done to a woman, as they viewed her cause, took it up with the unconquerable resolution of Roman plebeians, and would probably not have yielded. But that which was perhaps most remarkable throughout the fierce encounter, was the boundless range of the press, and liberty of speech. Every day produced its thousand fiery libels against the King and his adherents, and as many caricatures, that were hawked about all the

streets. The Queen's counsel, Mr. Denman, addressing himself to the assembled Peerage of the Realm, denounced, in thundering tones, one of the brothers of the King, as a slanderer :—"Come forth," said he, "THOU SLANDERER;" a denunciation the more severe, from the sarcasm with which it was done, and the turn of his eye towards its object; and even after the whole trial had ended, Sir Francis Burdett, just out of prison for one libel, proclaimed aloud to his constituents, and had it printed in all the papers, that the Ministers ALL DESERVED TO BE HANGED! This tempest of abuse, incessantly directed against the King, and all who stood by him, was borne, during several months, without the slightest attempt to check or punish it; and it is too prominent a fact to be left unnoticed, that the same advocate who so fearlessly uttered the above denunciation, was made Attorney-General when the Prince of the Blood, who was the OBJECT OF IT, sat upon the Throne; and was subsequently raised to the still higher dignity of Lord Chief Justice, where he still remains an honour to the kingdom.

November 15. Dined yesterday at Mrs. Porter's, Upper Norton Street. We had Colonel Wilkes, who, as English Governor at St. Helena, first had charge

of Bonaparte; Mr. Boswell, brother to Johnson's Boswell, and a few others—gentlemen and ladies.

Colonel Wilkes told anecdotes of Bonaparte. The one which struck me most was, that a frequent pastime with him after his arrival at St. Helena, was to play blind man's buff with the ladies and children; and that he entered fully into the spirit of it. [Among the numerous anecdotes of Napoleon III., which have come out since his death, it is stated that when he went out to walk at Chiselhurst, he was in the habit of filling his pockets with pennies to give to the children.—ED.]

Is this *the* game of the great names of the earth? Last month I heard, that the profound jurists of Britain, her statesmen, and orators, her Cannings, and Scotts, played it with the Queen; now I learned, and through a channel equally authentic, that Napoleon was addicted to it!

In connection with this personal anecdote of him from such a source, I am led to relate what I heard Baron Just say at a subsequent day, when dining with him in Portman Street. The Baron was Minister from the King of Saxony at Napoleon's Court, saw him often, and, on two occasions, had special audiences, which lasted an hour each. "And I had

occasion to remark," said he, "first, that he was not hurried in conversation; but composed and master of himself. Second, that his manner, instead of overawing, was so remarkably calculated to put you at ease, that I was forced to recollect myself," said the venerable diplomat, "after being some time in his presence, lest things might fall from me not proper to be said in consequence of feeling myself so entirely at ease." On my remarking that these attributes had not generally been ascribed to him, he replied, that, from his experience on both occasions, they were, nevertheless, strikingly observable. He then added, that he once saw him in anger, and that he never had beheld an eye and countenance so fierce. It was on the occasion of his marriage to the Empress Maria Louisa, (the Baron being at the ceremony;) and his anger was produced by perceiving that some of the Princesses of his family, who were to act as train-bearers, were not in their places; and that certain chairs assigned for some Cardinals were vacant, and the Cardinals not there.

Here, again, what have we? The greatest man of ten centuries, as Lord Holland once called him in the House of Lords, and certainly the man who was always collected in the field of battle in proportion as

danger thickened, and who could be himself under the most complicated difficulties of Civil Government, is fired with anger at breaches of personal etiquette!

November 17. Dined at the French Ambassador's, Portland Place, his domicile being removed to town. We had the Diplomatic Corps; also the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Melville, and other gentlemen.

I had much conversation with * * * * * * of the Diplomatic Corps. He said, that he did not anticipate any great results from the deliberations at Troppeau; the Emperor Alexander had been educated in liberal principles, and still had them in his head—whether in his heart or not, he could not say; his Minister, Capo' d'Istria, was very able; his other Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode, not so able perhaps, and less liberal in his principles; both would be with him at Troppeau; the Emperor of Austria would be attended by Prince Metternich, who "hated all Constitutions," he said, and the Emperor Alexander "had no love for him;" the King of Prussia would be attended by the Prince Royal; also by Prince Hardenburg, and M. de Bernstoff—the two latter being in the interest of Austria. Eng-

land would be represented only by Lord Stewart, English Ambassador at Vienna. H also told me, that Russia had obtained a loan of forty millions of rubles from the Barings and Hopes, and that Austria had got a small one from Rothschild, but none whatever from the British Government, or under its guarantee; adding his belief that the British Government had refused either to lend or guarantee, as the object of the loan connected itself with meditated hostilities by Austria against Naples.

At table I had Lord Mansfield next to me; he stands next but one, in that title, to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, who has so much fame with the Bar and Bench in the United States as well as England, having succeeded to the title as his great nephew. I asked if the destruction of the Lord Chief Justice's papers had been entire, in the attack upon his house in Bloomsbury Square during the riots of Lord George Gordon. He said, Yes; nothing had been saved. I then, as a topic of conversation, referred to Bissett's account of that transaction in his history of George III., recalling the incident of the Chief Justice having found refuge with the Royal Family at Buckingham House, for the first few days after the burning of his own; where the Queen had been so

charmed with his conversation. His Lordship, smiling, said, that the incident, however prettily related, as far as he was informed, had never happened!

Some fine Burgundy circulating round the table, it was said to be the product of a vineyard in France eight hundred years old.

November 22. Dined at Mr. Coutts Trotter's, at his villa, Barnsbury, three miles from town, where we had Lord Erskine, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Mr. Planta, Captain Lindsay, and the ladies of Mr. Trotter's family, my wife being also of the party. Lord Erskine did us the favour to take a seat in our carriage.

On the way out he was full of sprightliness. Always straightforward and powerful at the Bar and in Parliament, this distinguished Peer indulges in eccentricities in conversation. "*England,*" said he, "*is a blackguard country.*" "A great country," I rejoined. "*Yes,*" said he, "*a great blackguard country; a boxing, fighting country, and don't you call that blackguard?*" I said that he jumped to his conclusions faster than I could follow. "*Aye,*" said he, "*you are accredited to the King; but for all that, the King has been constantly fighting with Provi-*

dence; Providence gave him high endowments, with a fine person, and had been trying to make him the head of a great and glorious people; but the King had been for ever battling it with him, and at the end of about the thirteenth round, with the advantage of good bottle-holders, he had now fairly beaten Providence off the ground." Here he was alluding to the case of the Queen, whose cause his Lordship had defended stoutly. Continuing this lively strain, he said that he had received many letters from the King in the course of his life, and that nothing would now gratify him so much as an audience of half an hour with his Majesty, provided he would suffer him to talk to him as he formerly did—as a friend; otherwise, he would make his bow after the first salutation; but he humbly thought he could render him so popular, that he might dismiss his royal stud of horses, and trust to his people in all parts of the kingdom to draw his carriages wherever he wanted to go.

When we got to Mr. Trotter's, his Lordship kept up his sprightly vein at table. He gave us an account of his country seat at Hampstead, where Burke used to visit him. "I believe," said Mr. Trotter, "the soil is not the best, in that part of

Hampstead where your seat is." "No, very bad," he replied; "for although my grandfather was buried there an Earl near a hundred years ago, what has sprouted up from it since but a mere baron?" He alluded to his own title. He mentioned a fact, however, going to show that, although the soil yielded no increase in titles of nobility, it did in other things; for in his description he referred to a chestnut tree upon it, which, when he first went to live there, his gardener bought at a nursery garden for sixpence, and that it now yielded him thirty pounds a-year. Conversation like this, and more from him on other subjects, was intermingled with good contributions from the rest of the company. His Lordship returned with us in our carriage, with no diminution of his sprightliness.

November 23. Parliament was prorogued until the 23rd of January. An unusual scene was witnessed in the House of Commons. The Queen having applied to the Ministry for a palace to reside in, since the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her was withdrawn, and her application being refused, on the ground that it rested with Parliament to provide an establishment of that kind, Mr. Denman, as one of her counsel, and also a Member of the House,

rose and endeavoured to read a message from her Majesty before the usual forms of prorogation were gone through; but he could obtain no hearing. Uproar and confusion followed, making it difficult to get through the forms. The prorogation, however, was, in the end, duly effected. The very fact of her sending a message to the House, may be considered as in character with the speech she was said to have made after the bill against her had passed to a second reading. Her counsel drew a protest against it, which was taken to her to sign. This she did, with a hearty good will, exclaiming as she threw down the pen, "There! *Regina still*, in spite of them!"

November 25. Dine at Mr. Thornhill's, Bloomsbury Square, a Director of the East India Company. It was mentioned at table, that on the estate of a gentleman in Glamorganshire, orange trees are growing which were brought over to England in the Spanish Armada. The Spaniards confidently expecting to conquer England, had prepared themselves to stock it with all manner of good things, which may go to the account of the Spanish side of the argument about the Armada at the dinner at Lord Lansdowne's.

December 7. The Diplomatic Corps, consisting of

all the Ministers Plenipotentiary in town, and their ladies, dine with us.

We talked of the deliberations at Troppeau. * * * * * * said, that the King of Naples had been invited to meet the Allied Sovereigns in person at Laybach, and that his refusal to go would be construed into not being free within his own dominions, and probably lead to an invasion of Naples by an Austrian force. The King's dillemma, he remarked, was very embarrassing. The Allied Sovereigns summoned him to their presence under threats; whilst the Constitutional party and Carbonari of his own country would restrain his departure. He did not know if England and France had protested against an attack on Naples; his impression was, that in the present disturbed state of Italy, England would observe a neutral policy.

December 13. Dined at the French Ambassador's. We had all the Ambassadors and Ministers, with their ladies; Lord Castlereagh, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, M. De Neuman, M. Chinnery, and other gentlemen.

The Duke de Frias, Spanish Ambassador, told me that the Allied Sovereigns had "sent a summons" for him, adding, that if he did not obey, he supposed they intended to send an Austrian Army to look after

him! He said that, by the Spanish Constitution, the King could not leave his kingdom, without the consent of the Cortes; if he did, it amounted, *ipso facto*, to an abandonment of his throne. He spoke of the Constitution of the United States, particularly of our Senate, which he called "the intermediate body."

"You have none such in Spain," I remarked, "and are therefore more democratic; we prefer two Chambers." "It is true," said he, "we have but one; and" (pointing to the star which he wore) "though, with this on, I cannot find fault, I think the want of an intermediate body a defect in the Spanish Constitution.

Before going to dinner, Lord Castlereagh addressed me with great cordiality, saying as he came up, "Why, I have not seen you these hundred years!" "My misfortune, my Lord," I replied. "It is a proof," said he, "how smooth the waters are between our two countries." "But," said I, "we must contrive to ruffle them a little, if their smoothness is to be followed by our separation!" "No, no," said he; "that won't do." More passed in the same strain, the bystanders of the Diplomatic Corps seeming to relish this friendly international and personal tone between us.

Let me here give brief expression to a feeling I often had during my mission—one which is common, I suppose, to every Minister of the United States abroad. It is, his feeling of entire independence of the combinations and movements going on among the other Powers, no matter what may be their nature. Properly improved, this makes his personal position agreeable, as well with the Court where he may be residing as with the entire Diplomatic Corps. For his country, he has only to be just and fear not. The smaller Powers cannot have this calm assurance; and the representatives of the great Powers naturally respect the office of American Minister, from a knowledge of the resources, and growing power of the nation that sends him; and also (some of them) from dreaming of contingencies which may make the friendship of the United States desirable, though their maxim be, "Peace and commerce with all nations, entangling alliances with none." One of the members of the Corps, who witnessed the salutations passing between Lord Castlereagh and me, said to me a few minutes afterwards, "How happy you must feel in these times, when none of us know what is to happen in Europe: you belong to us" (meaning to the Corps), "yet are independent."

His Lordship asked me if Mr. Planta had shown me the letters from Sir Henry Wellesley respecting the ratification of our Treaty at Madrid. I said, "Not yet." He replied that he had requested him to do so, and would remind him of it.

I then spoke to him about the boundary-line under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, asking him if I could be furnished with certain documents, the general nature of which I explained; but as he was not at the moment familiar with them, it was agreed that I should write him an official note on the subject.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT ON THE FOREIGN TRADE OF ENGLAND.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE UMPIRAGE UNDER THE TREATY OF GHENT.—PARTY AT THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR'S.—AT THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR'S.—LANGUAGE OF OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC NOTES.—LEVEE AT CARLTON PALACE.—SPECIAL AUDIENCE OF THE KING.

DECEMBER 23. In connexion with the Report on the Foreign Trade of England, made by a Select Committee of the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament, which I transmitted to the Secretary of State, I this day send a despatch to the Department on the commercial laws and regulations of the kingdom,—a subject very complex and entangled, as the existence of full ELEVEN HUNDRED laws, ancient and modern, in the Statute Book, in relation to it, may sufficiently attest.

December 28. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh at the Foreign Office, sought on my part for the purpose of arranging further preliminaries with a view to the Umpirage of the Emperor

of Russia, on the question under the Treaty of Ghent.

December 31. Passed last evening at Prince Esterhazy's. The Secretary of the French Embassy, who was there, gave me to understand that there was no foundation for the newspaper assertions of a treaty of commerce being on foot between France and England, though made so confidently. In conversation with the Prince, he spoke of the members of the Austrian Imperial family, saying, that they were characterised by unostentatious habits and private worth. He spoke chiefly of the Emperor; said that his palaces for the most part were plain, and furnished with simplicity; that all persons could have access to him who wished it—scarcely were the humblest excluded; there was no previous scrutiny into their pretensions, and only very slight previous forms necessary. He ascribed all this to the Emperor's disposition, which he represented as very mild and paternal. We spoke of European politics, and the deliberations at Troppeau. I asked whether, in the case of a campaign in Italy, the Archduke Charles would be likely to take the field. He said that he did not know, but that his health was better than for the last ten years, adding, that it was under-

stood he was engaged in drawing up the memoirs of his military life, and in carrying still further his studies upon the art of war.

January 4, 1821. Last night I was at the Russian Ambassador's. Mr. Planta was there, and we had conversation on the customs of this and other Governments, in regard to Foreign Ministers. He said that theirs (the British) had instructions to write, under all ordinary circumstances, a despatch at least once a fortnight; but that this was apt to be much exceeded in point of fact. He said that they were instructed to make a separate despatch, as far as possible, of every separate piece of business, and that this often made the number received from them very great; as, for example, from their Ambassador in Paris, from whom they received, every mail-day—and it recurred twice a-week—from two to three despatches—seldom fewer; he should think it not improbable, that full three hundred had been received from him during the year just ended. In numbering their despatches, they began afresh with every new year; and they threw upon the Ambassador the duty of numbering them on the outside also, as well as of indorsing a short abstract of the subject. They thus arrived ready for the files, after being read.

In answer to inquiries as to the language employed in diplomatic notes in London, he said that this Government was now pushing forward the English language more than at any former period. Sir Henry Wellesley at Madrid, for instance, addressed the Spanish Government in English; in retaliation of which the Spanish Ambassador in London addressed his notes to Lord Castlereagh in Spanish. The Ambassadors and Ministers of all the other powers, he said, the United States excepted, (courteously alluding to the community of the English tongue between us,) wrote to Lord Castlereagh in French; but that the answers were uniformly in English. Formerly, they had been generally in French. It was Lord Grenville who, whilst Secretary for Foreign affairs, first broke in upon the use of French.—[For which, in the humble opinion of the writer, Lord Grenville has established a claim to the gratitude of the two great English speaking nations of the world.—Ed.]

January. 26th. Attended the Levee at Carlton Palace, and had a special audience of the King for the purpose of presenting two autograph letters from the President, in reply to two from the King; one announcing the death of the Duchess of York, the

other relating to the recall of Sir Charles Bagot from his mission to Washington. In delivering the former, I said that I was instructed to express the sincere concern which the President always felt in any event which affected personally the happiness of his Majesty or any of the Royal Family; and that in delivering the latter, I was specially directed to make known the entire satisfaction which the conduct of Sir Charles Bagot had given to my Government during his residence in the United States; and also the satisfaction with which the President had received from his successor, assurances of the continuation of his Majesty's good will towards the United States.

On the latter head, the King replied in expressions, and with a manner, of more than usual cordiality and earnestness. He said, that it was his most sincere and anxious desire to see harmony kept up between the two nations; that he rejoiced at its entire existence at the present time, and could give me the fullest assurances that nothing should be wanting on his part to render it permanent, for which there were the strongest motives on both sides. He added, (for I am bound to give his words as his Minister heard them, and they were known to his Cabinet,) that my conduct had been always in the

spirit of conciliation since I had been at his Court; and that there were occasions when the exercise of such a spirit had been useful, and acceptable to this Government. He remarked further, that he would not rest content with directing his Minister (turning to Lord Castlereagh who stood by him) to tell me so, but was happy to take this opportunity of saying so to me in person.

I answered, that I felt honoured by his Majesty's words; that I well knew I should not earn his Majesty's respect, unless I consulted, primarily, the interests of my own country; but that, in doing so, it was the first wish of my heart to be instrumental towards maintaining harmony between the two nations; and if my duty had been discharged in a manner to be acceptable to his Majesty, it was a source of high satisfaction to me. The audience here closed.

I again saw Lord Castlereagh before the Levee was over. He alluded to what had passed at the audience; on which I expressed anew the satisfaction it had afforded me, feeling sure that his Lordship had prepared the way for what the King said.—[At the distance of more than half a century, the writer hopes there may be no impropriety in his adding a

word to the above, having had the narrative from the author's lips, and made a note of it at the time. The King's words were stronger—much stronger—as the author repeated them to the writer, than he has chosen here to make public, preferring to err on the side of modesty. For the same reason, he added, he had not written home about it, his Majesty's remarks being so entirely personal to himself. The King dwelt emphatically, said the Author, "upon a late occasion—*yes, upon a late occasion,*" alluding in unmistakable ways to the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, at one time so threatening to the peace of the two countries, the fortunate adjustment of which, his Majesty attributed "*in a great degree,—yes, in a very great degree,*" to the manner in which the circumstances of that case had been explained to his Government.

Lord Castlereagh observed to the author as he was leaving the Palace, "folding his large cloak round him," that he hoped what his Majesty had said had been acceptable to him. "Highly so, my Lord," he replied, "it could not be otherwise;" the former adding, "I was sure it would be," and that under the circumstances he thought it but right, and preferred, that such sentiments on the part of the

Government, should be communicated to him by the Sovereign himself. The Author was always under the impression that what the King said had been carefully thought of and agreed upon beforehand, between his Majesty and Lord Castlereagh.

While it may be hazardous sometimes to plead the filial motive in extenuation of much that finds its way into print, it is again hoped that the more full reference to this incident—a striking one in diplomatic history—may not now, at this late day, subject the writer to misconstruction.—ED.]

CHAPTER XIX.

CORONATION OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.—SPECIAL AMBASSADORS FROM THE COURTS OF EUROPE COME TO ENGLAND TO ATTEND IT.—ALL THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS ARE INVITED TO IT.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY'S, LATE LORD CASTLEREAGH.—FETE CHAMPETRE AT NORTH CRAY, IN HONOUR OF THE CORONATION.—DINNER AT THE KING'S.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S.—BALL GIVEN BY THE DUKE DE GRAMMONT, SPECIAL AMBASSADOR FROM FRANCE, IN HONOUR OF THE CORONATION, WHICH THE KING ATTENDS.

JULY 20. Yesterday the Coronation was celebrated in all due pomp. For two or three days preceding, princes, legislators, statesmen, bishops, philosophers, warriors, the young and the old, grave and gay, the Tory and Whig, nobleman and commoner, rich and poor, seem all, more or less, to have been talking about it. The potentates of Europe sent over their special Ambassadors in honour of it. France hers, in the person of the Duke de Grammont; Russia hers, in Count Stackelberg; Austria hers, in the elder Prince Esterhazy; Prussia hers, in Prince Hatzfeldt;—all arriving with their retinues; and the smaller Powers doing reverence to the occasion in the same way, though on a reduced scale of repre-

sentation. All this may incite the representative of the United States to a few words on the general subject, whilst making a minute of his connexion with it.

The first notice of it that came to me in an official form, was in the shape of a note from Sir Robert Chester, the Master of Ceremonies, dated the 15th of June. This informed me, that the Coronation was to take place on the 19th of July; and that a space would be allotted in Westminster Hall and Westminster Abbey, for the accommodation of the Foreign Ministers and their families, and a portion of the strangers belonging to their respective Courts, who might happen to be in town, and had been previously presented to the King; and I was requested to make an early return of the individuals of my family, and of my "Court," to whom I considered it proper that invitations should be sent. To this note I replied in due form.

The further notices which I received from the same source as the time drew near, consisted of six different papers, as follows: 1. A paper on which were laid down the routes and streets which all carriages were to take in conveying persons to and from the Hall and Abbey. These were settled by the

Privy Council, as the paper stated; which was signed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. 2. An engraved map of the whole course. 3. Instructions, signed by the Master of Ceremonies, in regard to dress. 4. My tickets of admission to the Hall, signed by Lord Gwydir, as Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain. 5. Similar tickets of admission to the Abbey, signed by Lord Howard of Effingham, who acted for the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal of England. 6. Eight printed sheets, in folio, containing a full account, in detail, of all the ceremonies to be witnessed in the Hall and Abbey.

So prepared, I set out with my suite at six in the morning. After various perils to my carriage, we reached Westminster Hall at about eight; for it took us that length of time to arrive, although the distance was not more than three miles from my residence. The route for the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, was down Grosvenor Place, along Milbank, through Abingdon Street, and in that way to the House of Lords. We should not have arrived so soon, but that the carriage of the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Esterhazy, which headed our line, manœuvred bravely; the throng of carriages being so great at some points, that it became impossible to keep the exact order

laid down. The morning was fine, which made the equipages and troops a brilliant sight. Even at that early hour, windows and front-doors were crowded with people, looking at the carriages of the Ambassadors and nobility, with richly dressed persons inside, as they passed in procession to the great pageant of the day.

The box prepared for the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers was at the south end of the Hall, immediately opposite the one fitted up for the Royal Family. It bordered upon the Royal Platform, and was near the Throne. When we entered, the Hall was already filled with Peers, Peeresses, their daughters, and others, all in rich array. Heralds-at-arms were engaged in quietly arranging the various personages among the nobility, and others, who were to move in the grand procession from the Hall to the Abbey. Suddenly there was a pause, and perfect stillness. This betokened the entrance of the King, who came into the Hall at about ten o'clock in full state. All in the galleries rose, and continued to stand up. When the King was seated in the chair of state, he turned first towards the box of the Royal Family, and bowed; then he did the same towards that in which were the Foreign Ambassadors

and Ministers. I cannot attempt to describe the ceremonies which passed after the King came in until the procession moved, they were so numerous. Of the successive groups who made reverences before him previously to descending the steps of the Royal Platform to assume their places in the grand procession, the Royal Dukes, Prince Leopold, and the Marquis of Londonderry, were especially observable by the parts and costumes assigned to them. Some of these wore robes, and a hat looped up with the black heron feathers, whilst others had white plumes. In the shoes of some of them, diamonds were sparkling.

In an hour, or less, the procession began to move through the street, which, by a space here opening wide, leads across to Westminster Abbey. The King went under a canopy of cloth of gold, borne over him with attendant pomp. But the part of the procession which seemed most regarded by many, was Miss Fellowes, the herb-woman, dressed in white; who, with her six young ladies in attendance, strewed flowers along the raised way of the procession, as the Royal Canopy and train were moving from the Hall to the Abbey. It took some time to reach the Abbey, so slow was the movement. The streets, windows,

house-tops, chimney-tops, were filled with people gazing at it. It was the only part of the ceremonial exhibited out of doors, and was all gorgeousness. The Diplomatic Corps, including the special Ambassadors and their suite, went from the House of Lords to the Abbey, through a covered passage hung with crimson, which had been prepared for the Royal Family, the Corps, and the Peeresses, and was erected entirely across the street. In the Abbey we had our accommodations such as they had been in Westminster Hall, an ample box opposite to that of the Royal Family. In the Abbey it was that the actual crowning took place, but not until various other ceremonies, solemn in tone, had been performed. A sermon was preached by the Archbishop of York; text, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." Of the religious and state ceremonies, the coronation oath was most important. It was, as lawyers might say, the *gist* of the whole case, marking the transmission of the English Throne to a new Monarch. The King took it with much solemnity, kissed the book, and signed the oath. Its purport was, that he would govern the realm according to the laws of Parliament, cause justice to be executed in mercy, and maintain the Protestant religion as

established by law. The Archbishop of Canterbury administered it, and put the crown on. Then followed the homage and other ceremonies, amongst which was that of each Peer putting on his coronet at a given moment; a movement done simultaneously, with military exactness and effect. It took us by surprise, seeming like a hundred coronations all at once.

The Marquis of Anglesea, as Lord High Steward, carried the crown up to the altar, before the Archbishop placed it on the King's head. It was heavy with diamonds and other precious stones, and slipped from his hands; but the gallant Marquis, though with but one leg to stand upon (the other lost at Waterloo), dexterously recovered it, so that it did not fall.

The state and religious ceremonies in the Abbey, which took up a long time, being finished, the King and everybody returned to the Hall. There the scene assumed a new character. There, it had its chief splendour. It was, in a high degree, joyous and animating. Whilst all were absent in the Abbey, the banquet was preparing in the Hall. The King was yet to dine in presence of his nobility and other subjects, between whom and himself the reci-

procal public obligations had just passed in the Abbey, and in presence of his Coronation guests, and all these were also to dine. The table for the King's banquet was spread on the royal platform. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers had theirs in the Painted Chamber of the House of Lords, a communicating apartment under the same roof; but we rose from it soon to come into the Hall—the centre of all attraction. The Peeresses, Peers, and others associated with them, had theirs in the body of the Hall. Here, six long tables were laid, three on each side, leaving a vista, or aisle, open in the middle, which directly fronted the royal platform. The platform and all the seats were covered with crimson, which, with the Peeresses richly dressed, and the plate on the banqueting-tables, and the company all seated, with the King at the head of his sumptuous table, shaped as a crescent, so that he and the few seated on his right and left faced the whole company, made the spectacle extremely magnificent. The comptroller and clerks of the kitchen, and purveyor of wines, had not, as may be imagined, overlooked their duties. But when the Champion appeared at the opposite extremity of the Hall, directly in front of the King; nothing seen at first

but tufts of plumes waving from his horse's head, and his own helmet, startling emotions arose in every bosom. Curiosity was breathless to see the development of what was coming. He was attended by Howard of Effingham; and by Anglesea; and by another greater than all—the DUKE OF WELLINGTON; and as these, all on horseback, now entered abreast, the Champion heralding his challenge, and the horses seeming almost in contact with the outward line of Peeresses at the table, yet obedient to the bit, which they kept champing; as this equestrian train slowly advanced, in martial grace and strength, up the aisle towards the King, all eyes were soon turned upon one man in it. In vain did the declining sun through the vast old Gothic edifice, throw beams upon the bright and heavy armour of the Champion; in vain was it when the horses, reaching by slow, impatient steps, the top of the aisle, and proudly halting at the steps of the royal platform, that the steel-clad Champion again put forth his challenge, threw down his glove, received the cup from his Sovereign, and drank to his Sovereign;—in vain all this; the beauty and chivalry at the banqueting-tables still looked at the Duke of Wellington; still kept their eyes on the man whose

person and horse recalled, not war in romance, but in its stern and recent realities. All were at gaze—silent, fixed. He was habited only as a Peer, had only his staff as Lord High Constable; yet was he the observed of all. Nowhere was he more intently eyed, than from the box where sat the assembled Ambassadors of the Potentates of Europe. Judging from opinion in that box, there was nothing in the elaborate grandeur of the day to rival this scene. It was the inherent pre-eminence of a great man, exalting moral admiration above the show of a whole kingdom.

"The Champion" was Mr. Dymoke, who claimed that office by hereditary right from an age long back. The following were the words of his challenge:—"If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our Sovereign Lord King George the Fourth, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, son and next heir to our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, the last king, deceased, to be right heir to the imperial crown of this United Kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor; being ready in person to combat with him, and in this

quarrel will adventure his life against him on what day soever he shall be appointed."

I got home from it all by nine o'clock in the evening. Many were detained until midnight. An illumination followed. In divers parts of the town, fireworks were let off, balloons sent up, the cannon sent forth its roar, the bells rang, the theatres were thrown open gratis, and the whole night went off amidst the general huzzas of John Bull.—[Accidents will occur even on such occasions. The disaster which well nigh happened to the Crown in Lord Anglesea's hands, for such it would have been but for that nobleman's ready recovery of it, was scarcely equal to the accident which actually befell Lord Rolle, at the Coronation of Queen Victoria, in 1838. That venerable peer, as he advanced to do homage, stumbled and fell, while ascending the steps of the royal platform. It was feared, at first, that he had injured himself, and all eyes were rivetted to the spot. In an instant a dozen arms and hands were extended to assist him to rise, conspicuous among the number being those of the youthful maiden Queen herself, who quickly rose to go towards him as by a feminine instinct, the latter triumphing, at such a moment, over all the pageantry which surrounded her. When it was found

that he was not hurt, a sprightly young lady—daughter of a peer—in the box immediately adjoining that of the Ambassadors and Ministers, was heard to say, "*Oh, it's nothing—it's only part of his tenure to roll over at the Coronation.*"

The beautiful and almost startling effect of the sudden gleams of the noonday sun, as they shot through the windows of the Abbey at the very instant at which the Archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown upon the head of the youthful female Sovereign, falling directly where he stood and she knelt—which in old Rome would have been seized upon as the most auspicious of omens—the like simultaneous putting on of his coronet by each Peer at a given moment, as by enchantment; the beauty and grace of the Queen's train-bearers; and the scattering of the gold medals among the aristocratic throng, as the ceremonies drew to a close, and good-humoured strife to catch them—all this will be long remembered by those who had the good fortune to witness that magnificent spectacle.

But there was no Banquet in the Hall—no Champion—no Duke of Wellington on horseback by his side.—ED.]

In due time Sir Robert Chester waited upon me with a coronation medal, of which he asked my

acceptance. It was of gold, with a bust of the king on one side, and on the other several emblematical representations, including Britannia with Neptune's trident. One of these medals, he said, was due by ancient custom to every Minister Plenipotentiary at the English Court when the King was crowned; he was distributing them, and was happy to hand me mine. I declined it, with expressions of respect towards his Majesty proper to be used, and under every sensibility to the honour of being invited to his coronation; but alleged that the constitution of the United States prohibited their Foreign Ministers receiving a present from any Foreign Prince or Potentate. Sir Robert, with his usual courtesy, then tendered it to Mrs. Rush, saying that our constitution surely did not mention the ladies! But here I was driven to quote the old common law upon him, which was part of our inheritance in the United States, and a good inheritance we thought it, though it did, ungallantly, make the wife's gold the husband's; so that it ended in our losing the medal both ways.—[The writer refers to this little incident, occurring so many years ago, trifling as it may appear, with the pride of a son, and hopes he need claim no indulgence in doing so. The duty of obeying implicitly the

constitution of his country, in every particular, the smallest as the greatest, cannot be too often, and too sedulously inculcated upon every citizen of the United States, more especially upon those honoured with the representative trust. If a public man be unable to resist small temptations, he will be very apt to give way before greater. Look well to the small occasions of life; great occasions will take care of themselves.—Ed.] These medals had been showered about the Abbey according to usage, when the coronation was over, just before we returned to the kingly festivities of the Hall,—festivities, which, truth to say, recalled something of the *field of gold cloth* of the time of the Tudors, and images of splendour from tournaments of the Plantagenets.

July 21. Dined at the Marquis of Londonderry's —late Lord Castlereagh. He succeeded, a few months ago, to the title of his father, who died in April. We had all the Special Ambassadors; also the resident Corps, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Burghersh, Sir Henry Wellesley, Lord Clanwilliam, Count Metternich, and General Count Woronzoff, who commanded the Russian army of occupation in France. My seat at table was next to Count Woronzoff, and I was favoured with much of his conversation.

July 23. Went to the Marchioness of Londonderry's fête champêtre, at North Cray, given in honour of the coronation. All the Special Ambassadors with their suites, were at it; also the Cabinet Ministers, the resident Ambassadors and Ministers, with groups of the nobility and others. The company were received on the lawn, where ornamental tents were pitched and three bands of music stationed. The effect was heightened by the appearance, at a little distance off, of the surrounding villagers and country people, who had assembled as lookers-on beyond the line of invisible fences and rural barriers, which skirted the lawn. But this rural scene, like many other enchantments, was destined soon to vanish; for alas! showers came on which drove us under the tents and into the mansion. At about five o'clock we sat down in the latter to a *déjeûner à la fourchette*, and got back to town a little after night-fall, the road alive with the gay equipages of such a company.

July 25. Attend the Levee. The rooms are thronged, under excitements in the great world of London society at this season, from the coronation.

July 26. Dined at the King's. The dinner was given to the Special Ambassadors sent by their respective Sovereigns to do honour to the coronation,

and to all the resident Diplomatic Corps, Ambassadors, and Ministers, but included none below the rank of Ministers Plenipotentiary. Of the Royal Dukes, there were present the Duke of York, Duke of Clarence, and Duke of Cambridge. The additional guests were, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Londonderry, and Lord Francis Conyngham.

We were invited at seven o'clock. As my carriage turned into Pall Mall from the foot of St. James's Street, the old clock at St. James's struck seven ; and before I reached Carlton Palace, all the carriages appeared to be entering or coming out through the double gates of the Ionic screen in front of the Palace. Mine was among the last that drove up to the portico, and, by a very few minutes past seven, all the guests save one, were assembled in the reception rooms. I had never before witnessed such punctuality at any dinner in England.

The King entered a minute or two afterwards, and saluted his guests generally, then went the rounds, speaking to each individually. With the Special Ambassadors he paused longest. Time had now run on to more than a quarter past seven. Still one of the guests had not yet arrived ; that one was the

Duke of Wellington. The man not apt to be behind time when his Majesty's enemies were to be met, was backward, it seems, in meeting his friends. Five minutes more went by, and still no Duke of Wellington; critical moments, when each one seemed to count two! At length, in one of the rooms at a distance, the Duke was seen. He was dressed in the uniform of an Austrian Field Marshal, a plain round-about jacket of white cloth, and white under-dress to suit, relieved by scarcely anything but his sword. The dress being tight and simple, gave to his person a thinner look than usual; and as he kept advancing with easy step, quite alone, and a general silence prevailing, the King separated himself from the group of Ambassadors, where he was standing, and, when he got near enough, stepped forward, to meet him. With both hands, he took the Duke by both, which he shook with great cordiality, saying something which the company could not hear, but which, from the manner, we took to be a good-humoured rally upon his late arrival. The Duke received it with placid composure, made no reply, but bowed. When liberated from the friendly grasp of the King, he approached a circle of which I happened to be one. One of the Ministers composing it said to him, "We

hope you will forgive our little treason, my Lord Duke, but we have just been determining that as some one of the company was to be too late, it was best to have fallen to your Grace's lot, who can so well bear it." With a half whisper, and an arch smile, the Duke replied, "The King knows I would have been here sooner, but for attending to some of his Majesty's business." This, considering the Duke as a Cabinet Minister and Privy Councillor, had doubtless been sufficient to cover his delinquency, and secure for him the very cordial reception all had witnessed.

Hardly had he uttered this little sentence, when dinner was announced. The King led the way; the Royal Dukes followed; then the Special Ambassadors, each taking precedence by the date of his arrival in London; then the Resident Corps and rest of the company, each having the *pas* under rules well known. All were in high official costume. The King took the middle of his table; the Marquis of Londonderry one end, and Count Munster, who, as Hanoverian Minister, has something of family rank at the English Court, the other end. In all, above thirty sat down to table. The King gave his chief attention to those near him, who were the Special Ambassadors.

The ornaments down the middle of the table, and profusion of lights, intercepted the view of the guests across it. I was next to Lord Londonderry, and had some conversation with him. It touched upon Russia and Turkey; he expressed the hope that things in that quarter would end quietly, remarking that the Emperor was moderate; it touched upon English society also, and the remark dropped from him while on this theme, that the higher the rank and education, the better bred, as a general rule, their people in England—so he believed it was considered. Some conversation I also had with the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Montrose, on American steam-boats and the genius of Fulton. The former was inclined to claim Fulton as an Englishman; but I said that we could not surrender the honour of his birth for the United States.

The entire dinner service was of gold. I will allude to something which struck me among the smaller pieces—the salt-cellars. Each, as well as I could catch the design, represented a small rock, in dead gold, on which reclined a sea nymph holding in her hand a shell, which held the salt. One of these was before every two guests; so it was, as to number, with the golden coolers down the sides, containing

wine. The servants in the royal livery were abundant, and their quiet movements seen rather than heard. The whole table, sideboard, and room, had an air of chaste and solid grandeur; not, however, interfering with the restrained enjoyments of a good dinner, of which the King seemed desirous that his foreign guests should in nowise be abridged, for we sat until past ten o'clock. When he moved, the company all rose, and, in the order in which we came to dinner, returned to the drawing-rooms, where coffee was handed. All repaired afterwards to a ball given by Princess Esterhazy in honour of the Coronation, the King's carriage going first.

July 27. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's. The card of invitation mentioned that it was to meet the King. His Majesty was there accordingly.

We had all the Special Ambassadors, as yesterday, at the King's; most of the Resident Ambassadors and Ministers, and the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cambridge; also the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Wellesley, the Earl of Liverpool (Premier), the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Maryborough, Lord Melville, and Field Marshal Lord Beresford. The whole company were in full, rich costume, as at the King's table.

I sat next to Lord Melville, and had Lord Maryborough on the other side. The former mentioned that the British Government had determined to publish all the Admiralty charts. The latter talked of our navy, of the equipments and discipline of which, I found that he was not unaware. And here I will take an incidental opportunity of saying, that whilst the bulk of the English scarcely know that an English ship was ever vanquished by an American, and whilst English authors have striven to prove by arithmetic how every battle between English and American ships attested superior merit in the English, I never heard an enlightened English gentleman, and least of all, those of the higher classes, speak on the subject (one which I never introduced), who did not pay tribute to the skill and valour with which our ships were fought, and admit that theirs had been overcome with a rapidity and completeness, out of all proportion to the excess of force on our side, when excess existed; but they generally added, that the discipline and equipment of our ships had taken them by surprise, which, they said, would not be likely to occur again. "A Roman myself, I am overcome by a Roman."

I return to the dinner. The table service was

brilliant. It lighted up better than the King's, for being entirely of silver and very profuse, the whole aspect was of pure, glittering white; unlike the slightly shaded tinges which candles seem to cast from gold plate. When the dessert came, there were different sets of beautiful china, one a present to the Duke from the King of France, the other from the Emperor of Austria.

The King sat on the right hand of the Duke. Just before the dessert courses, the Duke gave his Majesty as a toast. The guests all rose, and drank it in silence, the King also rising and bowing to the company. A few minutes after, the King gave the Duke of Wellington, introducing his toast with a few remarks. The purport of them was, that had it not been for the exertions of his friend upon his left (it was so that he spoke of the Duke), he, the King, might not have had the happiness of meeting those whom he now saw around him at that table; it was therefore with particular pleasure that he proposed his health. The King spoke his words with emphasis, and great apparent pleasure. The Duke made no reply, but took in respectful silence what was said. The King continued sitting whilst he spoke, as did the company, in profound stillness under his words.

I thought of Johnson when George III. complimented him. The innate dignity of great minds is the same. In Johnson it was that of the rough virtuous recluse—whose greatness was that of the author. In Wellington it was externally moulded into the ease which armies, and courts, and long association with the *élite* of mankind, may be supposed to give. Johnson did not "bandy civilities" with his Sovereign, whom he had never seen before; nor did Wellington, who saw him every day.

The dinner over, coffee was served in the drawing-rooms. At about eleven o'clock the King, the Duke, and all the company went to a ball at Almack's, given in honour of the Coronation, by the Special Ambassador from France, the Duke de Grammont; and whatever French taste, directed by a Grammont, could do to render the night agreeable was witnessed. His suite of young gentlemen from Paris stood ready to receive the British fair on their first approach to the rooms; and from baskets of flowers presented them with rich bouquets. Each lady thus entered the ball-room with one in her hand; and a thousand bouquets displayed their hues, and exhaled their fragrance, as the dancing commenced.

CHAPTER XX.

DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.—THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS ATTEND HIS FUNERAL.—MR. CANNING BECOMES FOREIGN SECRETARY OF ENGLAND.—INTERVIEW WITH MR. CANNING.—CONVERSATION WITH HIM ON THE PLANS OF FRANCE, AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE, RESPECTING SPANISH AMERICA.—RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES TO THIS SUBJECT.—DINNER AT MR. PLANTA'S.—GAME OF TWENTY QUESTIONS.

JULY, 1823. The last preceding memorandum in this irregular narrative of a public mission was in July, 1821. I cannot resume its thread, here broken by a chasm of two years, without alluding to the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, which happened in August, 1822. He died by his own hand at North Cray, his country home, in Kent. The event proceeded from temporary aberration of mind, caused, in all probability, by his laborious exertions as ministerial leader of the House of Commons during the session of Parliament then just ended, added to toils and solicitudes of scarcely inferior burden as first minister of the crown for foreign affairs. His death created a great shock. As a statesman moving largely in English and European affairs during the momentous transactions which pre-

ceded and followed the overthrow of Napoleon, and influencing decidedly some of them, history has already passed its verdict upon his character. It is no part of my purpose, in these humble and fugitive pages, to discuss it in those relations. But in reference to that portion of English statesmanship which has to deal with American affairs—and it is no unimportant portion—I must appeal to the preceding pages to attest the candid and liberal spirit in which he was ever disposed to regard them. Let those who would doubt it, consult the archives of the two nations since the end of our revolutionary war, and point out the British statesman, of any class or party, who, up to the period of his death, made more advances, or did more, in fact, towards placing their relations upon an amicable footing. I even hazarded the opinion, in the volume of this work published twelve years ago, that, had he not left England to attend the congress at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, he would have settled with the United States, in the negotiation then pending, the question of impressment; and, as an opinion, I still hold it, on grounds then intimated. His sentiments were of a lofty kind. His private life was pure, and all who knew him in those relations loved him. In

society he was attractive in the highest degree; the firmness and courage of his nature, being not more remarkable than the gentleness and suavity of his manners. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, between the graves of Pitt and Fox. The diplomatic corps all went to his funeral, and not one among them could gaze upon his pall without having his memory filled with recollections of kindnesses received from him. If anything intrinsically unpleasant ever arose in the transaction of international business with them, he threw around it every mitigation which blandness of manner could impart; whilst to announce or promote what was agreeable, seemed always to give him pleasure. His personal attentions to them were shown in ways which appeared to put out of view their coming from an official source, by the impression they made on the heart. Might not each individual of the large assemblage of ambassadors and ministers who were of the funeral train, naturally have felt grief at the death of such a foreign secretary, struck down as he also was so suddenly, and in a way so shocking, in the midst of his high employments, and with apparently so strong a hold upon life and its honours? Nor did I ever see manly sorrow more depicted in any countenance than that of the Duke of Wellington,

when he too took a last look at the coffin as it was lowered into the vault.

[It is stated that George IV. was struck with something in Lord Londonderry's look, a few days before this tragic occurrence, and that he observed to some one, "*Death is marked in that face.*" It was much regretted afterwards that all sharp instruments had not been put out of his reach, from the indications exhibited of unsoundness of mind.—ED.]

Upon the death of Lord Londonderry, the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in England, passed to the hands of Mr. Canning, a name also known to fame. His rural residence was at Gloucester Lodge, and his classic dinners at that abode, no less than the hospitalities of Lord Londonderry at North Cray and St. James's Square, will long be remembered by the diplomatic corps at the English Court in the time of George IV., as reliefs along the often anxious path of international business. He too soon passed away. Raised by his genius to the Premiership—the proud dream, it may be, of his life—he died almost immediately after reaching it: the victim, in his turn, of official labours and solicitudes too intense, superadded to those of that stormy ocean where his sway was great, the House of Commons.

During the interval of two years and more, which I have passed over, for I have omitted, almost entirely also, the first six months of 1821, much of public business passed through my hands, and had its completion. It was much intermingled also with social scenes, some of which might bear to be told; for I believe that every American minister in England, is apt to find the circle of English hospitality increase around him the longer he stays; but the half of it, past or to come, in my case, cannot be told, though it cannot be forgotten. I am about to enter upon some account of further negotiations which I conducted with the British government on subjects, some of which still remain unsettled, and have a deep present interest. It has been for the purpose of reaching the point of time when I was first instructed to open these negotiations, as well as to speak of other international things passing between the foreign secretary of England and myself, in connexion with them, that I have passed over the intervals mentioned; lest I should extend to undue limits a work, which may already be too long for the reader's patience. Mr. Canning continued at the head of foreign affairs during the full remaining term of my mission.

August 16. I this day had an interview with Mr. Canning at the Foreign Office.

I told him that I was in expectation of receiving, at an early day, instructions upon the Russian Ukase, relative to the north-west coast of America; and also on certain points of maritime law, which it was deemed desirable for the two nations to discuss and settle at the same time with all the other questions.

I transiently asked him whether, notwithstanding the late news from Spain, we might not still hope that the Spaniards would get the better of their difficulties. I here had allusion to the defection of Ballasteros in Andalusia, an event seeming to threaten with new dangers the constitutional cause in Spain. His reply was general, importing nothing more than his opinion of the increased danger with which, undoubtedly, the event I alluded to, was calculated to surround the Spanish cause. Pursuing the topic, I said, that should France ultimately effect her purpose of overthrowing the constitutional Government of Spain, there was, at least, the consolation left, that Great Britain would not allow her to go farther, and stop the progress of emancipation in the colonies. By this remark, I meant to recall the sentiments promulgated in Mr. Canning's note

to the British ambassador, at Paris, of the 31st of March; a note which had immediately preceded the invasion of Spain by the French army, under the Duke d'Angouleme. The purport of this note was, that England considered the course of events as having substantially decided the question of the separation of the Colonies from Spain, although the formal recognition of their independence by his Majesty's Government might be hastened or retarded by external causes, as well as by the internal condition of the Colonies themselves; and that as England disclaimed all intention of appropriating to herself the smallest portion of the late Spanish possessions in America, she also felt satisfied that no attempt would be made by France to bring any of them under her dominion, either by conquest, or by cession from Spain. I considered this note as sufficiently distinct in its import, that England would not remain passive under any such attempt by France; and, on my intimating this sentiment, Mr. Canning asked me what I thought my Government would say to going hand in hand with England in such a policy? He did not think that concert of *action* would become necessary, fully believing that the simple fact of our two countries being known to

hold the same opinions, would, by its moral effect, put down the intention on the part of France, if she entertained it. This belief was founded, he said, upon the large share of the maritime power of the world which Great Britain and the United States shared between them, and the consequent influence which the knowledge of their common policy on a question involving such important maritime interests, present and future, could not fail to produce on the rest of the world.

I replied, that in what manner my Government would look upon such a suggestion, I was unable to say; it was one surrounded by important considerations, and I would communicate it to my Government in the same informal manner in which he had thrown it before me. I remarked, however, that I could hardly do this to full advantage, unless he would at the same time enlighten me as to the precise situation in which England stood in relation to those new communities, and especially on the material point of acknowledging their independence.

He replied, that Great Britain certainly never again intended to lend her instrumentality or aid, whether by mediation or otherwise, towards making up the dispute between Spain and her Colonies;

but that if this result could still be brought about, she would not interfere to *prevent* it. Upon my here intimating that I had supposed all idea of Spain ever recovering her authority over the Colonies, had gone by, he explained by saying, that he did not mean to controvert that opinion; for he too believed that the day had arrived when all America might be considered as lost to Europe, so far as the tie of political dependence was concerned; all that he meant was, that if Spain and the Colonies should be able, agreeing among themselves to bring the dispute, which was not yet quite over, to a close upon terms satisfactory to both sides, and which would at the same time secure to Spain, as the parent state, commercial advantages not extended to other nations, that Great Britain would not object to a compromise in this spirit of preference to Spain. Upon my again alluding to the extreme improbability of the dispute ever settling down at this late day on such a basis, he said that it was not his intention to gainsay that position, having expressed himself as above rather for the purpose of indicating the feeling which this cabinet still had towards Spain, than of predicting results.

Wishing to be still more specifically enlightened,

I asked if England was, at the present time, taking any steps, or contemplating any, which had reference to the recognition of these new communities; that being the point on which the United States would naturally feel most interest.

He replied, that she had taken none whatever as yet, but was on the eve of taking one of a preparatory nature; which, however, would still leave her at liberty to recognise or not, according to the position of events at a future period. The measure contemplated was, to send out one or more individuals under authority from this Government, not regularly diplomatic, but clothed with powers in the nature of a commission of inquiry, which he described as analogous to those exercised by our commissioners sent out to South America in 1817, in the persons of Mr. Rodney, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Bland; and that upon the result of this commission, much might depend as to the subsequent course of England. I asked whether it would comprehend all the new communities; to which he replied that it would be confined, for the present, to Mexico.

Reverting to his first idea, he again said, that he hoped France would not, even should events be favourable to her arms in the Peninsula, extend her

views to Spanish America, for the purpose of reducing the Colonies, nominally indeed for Spain, but in reality to subserve ends of her own; but that if, unhappily, she did meditate such a course, he was satisfied that the knowledge that the United States would be opposed to it as well as England, could not fail to have its decisive influence in checking it. In this way good might be done, and peaceful prospects made more sure all round. As to the form in which such knowledge might be made to reach France and the other Powers of Europe, he said, in conclusion, that he thought it might probably be arranged in a manner that would be free from objection.

I again told him that I would not fail to convey his suggestions to my Government, and impart to him whatever answer I might receive. In the course of our conversation, I expressed no opinion in favour of them, yet abstained as carefully from saying anying against them; and on this footing the conversation ended; all which was promptly reported to my Government.

July 20. On the death of Lord Londonderry, Mr. Planta, who had long enjoyed his confidence and esteem, continued his connection with the Foreign Office, as one of the Under-Secretaries of

State; Mr. Hamilton, afterwards British Minister at Naples; Lord Clanwilliam, afterwards Minister at Berlin; and Lord Francis Conyngham, having successively acted with him as co-associates in that sphere. Under the present date, I go back a few days in the month in which I recommence my too often disjointed narrative, for the sake of speaking of a dinner at Mr. Planta's, recollected with pleasure probably by others, as well as myself. It was in dining with him to-day (July 20, 1823), that we had Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador; Count Martin D'Aglie, the Sardinian Envoy; Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Robinson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Granville, Lord George Bentinck, Lord Francis Conyngham, Mr. Charles Ellis [afterwards Lord Seaford], of the House of Commons, and Lord Howard de Walden.

It would not have been easy to assemble a company better fitted to make a dinner party agreeable, or to have brought them together at a better moment. Parliament having just risen, Mr. Canning, and his two colleagues of the cabinet, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Robinson, seemed like birds let out of a cage. There was much small talk, some of it very sprightly. Ten o'clock arriving, with little dispo-

sition to rise from table, Mr. Canning proposed that we should play "Twenty Questions." This was new to me and the other members of the diplomatic corps present, though we had all been a good while in England. The game consisted in endeavours to find out your thoughts by asking twenty questions. The questions were to be put plainly, though in the alternative if desired; the answers to be also plain and direct. The object of your thoughts not to be an abstract idea, or anything so occult, or scientific, or technical, as not to be supposed to enter into the knowledge of the company; but something well known to the present day, or to general history. It might be any name of renown, ancient or modern, man or woman; or any work or memorial of art well known, but not a mere event, as a battle, for instance. These were mentioned as among the general rules of the game, serving to denote its character. It was agreed that Mr. Canning, assisted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who sat next to him, should put the questions; and that I, assisted by Lord Granville, who sat next to me, should give the answers. Lord Granville and myself were, consequently, to have the thought or secret in common; and it was well understood, that the discovery of it,

if made, was to be the fair result of mental inference from the questions and answers, not of signs passing, or hocus pocus of any description. With these as the preliminaries, and the parties sitting face to face, on opposite sides of the table, we began the battle.

First question (by Mr. Canning).—Does what you have thought of belong to the animal or vegetable kingdom?

Answer.—To the vegetable.

Second question.—Is it manufactured, or unmanufactured?

Manufactured.

Third.—Is it a solid or a liquid?

A solid.

[How could it be a liquid, said one of the company, slyly, unless vegetable soup?]

Fourth.—Is it a thing entire in itself, or in parts?

Entire.

Fifth.—Is it for private use or public?

Public.

Sixth.—Does it exist in England, or out of it?

In England.

Seventh.—Is it single, or are there others of the same kind?

Single.

Eighth.—Is it historical, or only existent at present?

Both.

Ninth.—For ornament or use?

Both.

Tenth.—Has it any connection with the person of the King?

No.

Eleventh.—Is it carried, or does it support itself?

The former.

Twelfth.—Does it pass by succession?

[Neither Lord Granville nor myself being quite certain on this point, the question was not answered; but, as it was thought that the very hesitation to answer might serve to shed light upon the secret, it was agreed that the question should be counted as one, in the progress of the game.]

Thirteenth.—Was it it used at the coronation?

Yes.

Fourteenth.—In the Hall or Abbey?

Probably in both: certainly in the Hall.

Fifteenth.—Does it belong specially to the ceremony of the coronation, or is it used at other times?

It is used at other times.

Sixteenth.—Is it exclusively of a vegetable nature,

or is it not, in some parts, a compound of a vegetable and a mineral?

Exclusively of a vegetable nature.

Seventeenth.—What is its shape?

[This question was objected to as too particular, and the company inclining to think so, it was withdrawn; but Mr. Canning saying it would be hard upon him to count it, as it was withdrawn, the decision was in his favour on that point, and it was not counted.]

Seventeenth (repeated). — Is it decorated, or simple?

[We made a stand against this question also, as too particular; but the company not inclining to sustain us this time, I had to answer it, and said that it was simple.]

Eighteenth.—Is it used in the ordinary ceremonial of the House of Commons, or House of Lords?

No.

Nineteenth.—Is it ever used by either House?

No.

Twentieth.—Is it generally stationary or movable?

Movable.

The whole number of questions being now exhausted, there was a dead pause. The interest had

gone on increasing as the game advanced, until, coming to the last question, it grew to be like neck-and-neck at the close of a race. Mr. Canning was evidently under concern lest he should be foiled, as by the law of the game he would have been, if he had not now solved the enigma. He sat silent for a minute or two; then, rolling his rich eye about, and with a countenance a little anxious, and in an accent by no means over-confident, he exclaimed, "I think it must be the wand of the Lord High-Steward!" And it was—EVEN SO.

This wand is a long, plain, white staff, not much thicker than your middle finger, and, as such, justifies all the answers given.

In answering the ninth question, Lord Granville and I, who conferred together in a whisper as to all answers not directly obvious, remembered that some quaint old English writers say that the Lord High-Steward carried his *staff* to beat off intruders from his Majesty's treasury! When at the twelfth, Mr. Canning illustrated the nature of his question by referring to the *rod of the Lord Chamberlain*, which he said did not pass by succession, each new incumbent procuring, as he supposed, a new one for himself, I said that it was not the Lord Chamberlain's

rod; but the very mention of this was "*burning*," as children say when they play hide-and-seek, and in answering that it was not, I had to take care of my emphasis.

The questions were not put in the rapid manner in which they will be read; but sometimes after considerable intervals, not of silence — for they were enlivened by occasional remarks thrown in by the company, all of whom grew intent upon the pastime as it advanced, though Mr. Canning alone put the questions, and I alone gave out the answers. It lasted upwards of an hour, the wine ceasing to go round. On Mr. Canning's success, for it was touch-and-go with him, there was a burst of approbation, we of the diplomatic corps saying, that we must be very careful not to let him ask us too many questions at the Foreign Office, lest he should find out all our secrets.

The number of the questions and latitude allowed in putting them, added to the restrictions imposed upon the selection of the secret, leave to the person putting them a less difficult task than might, at first, be imagined; and accordingly, such of the company as had witnessed the pastime before, said, that the discovery took place, for the most part, by the time

the questions were half gone through—sometimes sooner; and that they had never known it protracted to the twentieth until this occasion. It is obvious that each successive question, with its answer, goes on narrowing the ground of defence, until at last the assailant drives his antagonist into a corner, almost forcing a surrender of the secret. Nevertheless, this presupposes skill in putting the questions; and he who consents to take that part in the game, must know what he can do. It was not until twelve o'clock that we all rose from table, and went up stairs to coffee. So it is that these Ministers of State relax; and it was a spectacle not without interest to see such men as Canning, Huskisson, and Robinson, giving themselves up to this kind of recreation as a contrast in the first, to his anxious labours in the whole field of foreign affairs; in the second, to his speeches on the sugar question, the warehousing system, and on alterations in the tariff; and in the third, to his endless mass of financial questions, during a long and toilsome session of Parliament just ended.—[An account of this game, as played on the occasion referred to, with the names of the distinguished company, appeared in print in Philadelphia, in 1840, and the game has since come

to be much in vogue there, and in other parts of America. It was played last summer at Vichy, in France, by a company composed of English and Americans; one of the number, an English Peer, remarkable for his quickness, who guessed every thing, and whom nothing could puzzle, putting the questions. Sometimes he would succeed on the third or fourth question. At length he was fairly brought to a stand by "The Atlantic Cable," suggested as the subject of thought, by a young American lady. He exhausted the twenty questions, without finding it out, gracefully acknowledging his defeat.—ED.]

Dining at the Marquis of Stafford's at a subsequent day, this pastime was spoken of; and it was mentioned that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham were both fond of it. Lord Stafford said, that the former had once succeeded in it, when the secret was the *stone* upon which Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, stood when he struck down Wat Tyler, in Richard the Second's time; and his impression was, that Mr. Pitt had triumphed at an early stage of his questions.

CHAPTER XXI.

TWO COMMUNICATIONS FROM MR. CANNING, ON SPANISH AMERICAN AFFAIRS.—STEPS TAKEN UNDER THEM.—FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS ON THE PROPOSED NEGOTIATION.—THIRD COMMUNICATION FROM MR. CANNING, ON SPANISH-AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

AUGUST 22. This day brought me an important note from Mr. Canning, dated the twentieth instant, Foreign Office. He informs me, that before leaving town he is desirous of bringing before me in a more distinct, but still in an unofficial and confidential shape, the question opened and shortly discussed between us on the sixteenth instant.

He asks if the moment has not arrived when our two Governments might understand each other as to the Spanish-American Colonies; and if so, whether it would not be expedient for ourselves, and beneficial for all the world, that our principles in regard to them should be clearly settled and avowed. That as to England she had no disguise on the subject.

1. She conceived the recovery of the Colonies by Spain, to be hopeless.

2. That the question of their recognition as independent states, was one of time and circumstances.

3. That England was not disposed, however, to throw any impediment in the way of an arrangement between the Colonies and mother country, by amicable negotiation.

4. That she aimed at the possession of no portion of the Colonies for herself.

5. That she could not see the transfer of any portion of them to any other power, with indifference.

That if the United States acceded to such views, a declaration to that effect on their part, concurrently with England, would be the most effectual, and least offensive, mode of making known their joint disapprobation of contrary projects; that it would at the same time put an end to all the jealousies of Spain, with respect to her remaining Colonies; and to the agitation prevailing in the Colonies themselves, by showing that England and the United States were determined not to profit by encouraging it. And I am asked, in conclusion, whether I consider that the full power which I had lately received from my Government, would authorize me to enter into negotiation to sign a convention

on the above subject; and if not, if I could exchange with him, as the organ of the British Government, ministerial notes in relation to it.

Such was the purport of his communication, framed in a spirit of great cordiality.

August 23. I replied to Mr. Canning's note to the following effect: I said, that the Government of the United States having, in the most formal manner, acknowledged the independence of the late Spanish provinces in America, desired to see it maintained with stability, and under auspices that might promise happiness to the new states themselves, as well as advantage to the rest of the world; and that, as conducing to those great ends, my Government anxiously desired to see them received into the family of nations by the powers of Europe, and especially by Great Britain.

That in other respects I believed the sentiments unfolded in his note were shared by the United States; because, first, we considered the recovery of the Colonies by Spain to be entirely hopeless. 2. We would throw no impediment in the way of an arrangement between them and the mother country by amicable negotiation, supposing an arrangement of such a nature to be possible. 3. We did not aim

at the possession of any of those communities for ourselves. 4th, and last, we should regard as highly unjust, and fruitful of disastrous consequences, any attempt on the part of any European Power, to take possession of them by conquest, by cession, or on any other ground or pretext.

But I added, that in what manner my Government might deem it most expedient to avow these principles, or express its disapprobation of the exceptionable projects alluded to, were points on which all my instructions were silent, as well as the power I had lately received to enter upon negotiations with his Majesty's Government; nevertheless I would promptly make known to the President the opinions and views of which he had made me the depository, and I was of nothing more sure than that he would fully appreciate their importance, not less than the frank and friendly feelings towards the United States which their communication to me bespoke.

I immediately transmitted to my Government, with the following despatch, copies of the foregoing correspondence, with a request to the Consul at Liverpool to send them off by the earliest ships from New York, or other ports of the United States.

"London, August 23, 1823.

"SIR,—I yesterday received from Mr. Canning, a note headed 'private and confidential,' setting before me in a more distinct form, the proposition respecting South American affairs which he communicated to me in conversation on the 16th instant, as already reported in my despatch, number 323. I lose no time in transmitting a copy of his note, as well as a copy of my answer, written and sent to-day.

"In framing the answer on my own judgment alone, I feel that I have had to encounter a task of some embarrassment, and shall be happy if it receive the President's approbation.

"I believe that this Government has the subject of Mr. Canning's proposition much at heart, and certainly his note bears upon the face of it a character of earnestness, as well as cordiality, towards the Government of the United States, which cannot escape notice.

"I have therefore thought it proper to meet this spirit, as far as I could, consistently with other and paramount considerations.

"These I conceived to be chiefly twofold: first, the danger of pledging my Government to any measure of foreign policy which might, in any degree,

now or hereafter, implicate it in the federative system of Europe; and secondly, I have felt myself alike without warrant to take a step which might prove exceptionable in the eyes of France, with whom our specific and friendly relations remain, I presume, undisturbed, whatever may be our speculative abhorrence of her attack upon the right of self-government in Spain.

"In framing my answer, I had also to consider what was due to Spain herself; and I hope that I have not overlooked what was due to the Colonies.

"The whole subject is novel, and open to views on which I have deliberated anxiously. If my answer shall be thought, on the whole, to bear properly on all the public considerations which belong most materially to the occasion, it will be a source of great satisfaction to me.

"The tone of earnestness in Mr. Canning's note naturally starts the inference that the British Cabinet cannot be without its serious apprehensions that ambitious enterprises are meditated against the Independence of the new Spanish-American States, whether by France alone, or in conjunction with the continental powers, I cannot now say on any authentic grounds.

"I have the honour to remain, with very great respect, your obedient servant,

"RICHARD RUSH.

"The Honourable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Secretary of State."

August 26. To-day brings me a second confidential communication from Mr. Canning, of the following tenor, dated Liverpool, the 23rd instant. He says, that since he wrote to me on the 20th, an additional motive had occurred for wishing that we might come to some understanding, promptly, on the Spanish-American question, and be at liberty to announce it to the world. The motive was, that England had received notice, though not such as imposed the necessity of instant action, that, as soon as the military objects in Spain were achieved, which France expected (how justly, he could not determine) to achieve very speedily, a proposal would be made for a congress in Europe, or some other concert and consultation, specifically on the affairs of Spanish America; and he adds, that he need not point out to me the complications to which such a proposal, however dealt with by England, might lead.

August 27. I reply to Mr. Canning's second communication by saying that, in my note to him of the

23rd (not received when his second was written), two principal ideas had place.

1. That the United States desired to see the Independence of the late Spanish Provinces in America permanently maintained.

2. That they would view as unjust and improper, any attempt on the part of the Powers of Europe to intrench upon that Independence.

And, in my note of to-day, I said that my Government, I was sure, would regard as alike objectionable any interference whatever in the affairs of Spanish America, unsolicited by the late Provinces themselves, and against their will; that it would regard the convening of a Congress to deliberate upon their affairs, as a measure uncalled for, and indicative of a policy highly unfriendly to the tranquillity of the world; that it could never look with insensibility upon such an exercise of European jurisdiction over communities now of right exempt from it, and entitled to regulate their own concerns unmolested from abroad. I further said, that if he supposed any of these sentiments, or those expressed in my first note, might be moulded by me into a form promising to accomplish the object he proposed, I would be happy to receive and take into consideration

whatever suggestions he would favour me with to that end, either in writing, or in the full and unreserved intercourse of conversation, when he returned to town. Lastly, I said that, could England see fit to consider the time as now arrived for fully acknowledging the independence of the new communities, I believed, that not only would it accelerate the steps of my Government, but that it would naturally place me in a new position in my further course with him on the whole subject.

September 7. I receive another communication from Mr. Canning, dated Storrs, Westmoreland, the 31st of August. He says that, whatever may be the practical result of the correspondence between us, it is very satisfactory to him to find that the spirit in which it had begun on his part had been met so cordially on mine.

He goes on to say, in effect, that but for my want of specific powers to go forward in the proposition he made, he would have taken measures to give it operation on the part of England; but that, through the delay which must intervene before I could receive new powers from home, events might get before us; and therefore he could not justify it to his duty to his own Government, and to all the other con-

siderations belonging to the subject, to pledge England to wait for such a contingency—for which he assigns his reasons with frankness. He concludes by saying, that if I should see enough hope of good in his proposition to warrant me in asking powers and instructions in relation to it, in addition to all the other heads on which I had recently been empowered and instructed, I must then consider it *not* as a proposition already made, but as evidence of the nature of one which it would have been his desire *to make*, had he found me provided with authority to entertain it; this view of the subject now becoming necessary, that England may remain untrammelled in the meantime.

I transmitted this last communication to my Government on the day following, saying to the Secretary of State, that although it appeared from it that Mr. Canning was not prepared to pledge this Government to an immediate recognition of the Independence of the new States, I should, nevertheless, renew a proposition to that effect when we met; but that should he continue to draw back from it, I should decline acting upon the overtures contained in his first note, not feeling at liberty to accede to them in the name of the United States, but upon the basis of an equi-

valent; and that, as I viewed the subject, this equivalent could be nothing less than the immediate and full acknowledgment of those states, or some of them, by Great Britain.

September 10. Take steps to apprise the deputies of Spanish America in London, of the hostile views of France and the continental Powers, should the arms of the former succeed in Spain. I make no mention of Mr. Canning's name, or any allusion to it, as the source of my information, which information, although it may not be new to these deputies, I impart to put them still more on their guard.

September 12. Take further steps to warn the deputies of the plans of France and the allies, withholding altogether, as before, the source of my information, but letting it be understood that the information is not to be slighted.

September 15. Write to President Monroe, and in continuation of the Spanish American subject say, that Mr. Canning being still out of town, I was giving myself up to investigations which might the better prepare me for taking in hand the various subjects which his confidence had devolved upon me, to discuss and arrange with this Government; that on Mr. Canning's return, I should expect to be invited

to an interview, and doubted not but that the whole topic of Spanish American affairs would be resumed between us. That it was still my intention to urge upon him the immediate recognition of the new States by Great Britain, as the only footing upon which I could feel warranted in acceding to the proposal he had made to me; that otherwise our two countries would not stand upon equal ground in going into the measure proposed, we having already acknowleged the new States, but that I would continue to receive, in the most conciliatory manner, new overtures from him, should he meditate any new ones; for that my most careful observation in England during my residence, had impressed me with the belief, that the present administration, with Lord Liverpool still at its head, was as favourably disposed towards us as any that could be formed.

CHAPTER XXII.

FULL INTERVIEW WITH MR. CANNING, ON SPANISH-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AND REPORT OF WHAT PASSED.—FURTHER INTERVIEW ON THE SAME SUBJECT; AND ON THAT OF THE NEGOTIATION, TO THE OPENING OF WHICH ENGLAND ACCEDES.—MR. HUSKISSON AND MR. STRATFORD CANNING, TO BE THE BRITISH NEGOTIATORS.—RENEWED INTERVIEW WITH MR. CANNING, ON THE AFFAIRS OF SPANISH AMERICA, AND REPORT OF WHAT PASSED.

SEPTEMBER 18.—Had a full conference with Mr. Canning, at the Foreign Office, in which the subject of Spanish-American affairs was resumed, and the discussion of it gone into at large.

September 19. I reported in the following despatch to the Secretary of State, all that passed in my interview with Mr. Canning, yesterday; relying only upon the substantial fidelity of the report, as it must needs fall short of what is due to Mr. Canning in language, though I endeavoured to recall his own words, as far as I could.

No. 331. "London, September 19, 1823.

"SIR,—Mr. Canning returned to town about a week ago, and I had an interview with him at the Foreign Office, yesterday, at his request.

"He entered at once upon the subject of Spanish America, remarking, that he thought it claimed precedence over all others between us, at the present juncture. Military events in the Peninsula seemed every day to be drawing nearer to a crisis in favour of the French arms, and the political arrangements projected afterwards, would, there was good reason to suppose, be immediately directed to the affairs of the late Colonies. He would therefore not give up the hope, notwithstanding the footing upon which this subject appeared to be placed at the close of our recent correspondence, that I might yet see my way towards a substantial acquiescence, in his proposals. They were hourly assuming new importance and urgency, under aspects to which neither of our Governments could be insensible.

"Having perceived, since we had been last together, the publication in the newspapers of the correspondence of a portion of the merchants of London, and the Foreign Office, respecting the appointment of consuls, or commercial agents, for the Spanish-American States, I asked Mr. Canning whether I was to infer that this Government was about to adopt such a measure; to which he replied in the affirmative, saying that commercial agents would cer-

tainly be soon appointed, and sent out to the proper ports in those new communities.

"As to the proposals he had submitted to me, I said, that I was sure he would himself appreciate the delicacy and novelty of the ground upon which I stood. The United States, it was true, would view any attempt on the part of France, and the continental Alliance, to resubjugate those new States, as a transcendent act of national injustice, and indicative of progressive and alarming ambition; yet, to join Great Britain in a declaration to this effect, might lay them open in some respects to consequences, upon the character and extent of which it became my duty to reflect, with great caution, before making up my mind to meet the responsibilities of them. The value of my declaration, it was agreed, would depend upon its being formally made known to Europe. Would not such a step wear the appearance of the United States implicating themselves in the political connexions of Europe? Would it not be acceding, in this instance, at least, to the policy of one of the Great European Powers, in opposition to the projects avowed by others of the first rank? This, hitherto, had been no part of the system of the United States; the very reverse of it had been acted upon. Their

foreign policy had been essentially bottomed on the great maxim of preserving peace and harmony with all nations, without offending or forming entangling alliances with, any. Upon the institutions, as upon the dissensions, of the European Powers, the Government and people of the United States might form, and even express, their speculative opinions; but it had been no part of their past conduct to interfere with the one, or, being unmolested themselves, to become parties to the other. In this broad principle, laid one of my difficulties under his proposals.

"He replied, that however just such a policy might have been formerly, or might continue to be as a general policy, he apprehended that powerful and controlling circumstances made it inapplicable upon the present occasion. The question was a new and complicated one in modern affairs. It was also full as much American as European, to say no more. It concerned the United States under aspects and interests as immediate and commanding, as it did or could any of the States of Europe. They were the first Power established on that continent, and now confessedly the leading Power. They were connected with Spanish America by their position, as with Europe by their relations; and they also stood

connected with these new States by political relations. Was it possible that they could see with indifference their fate decided upon by Europe? Could Europe expect this indifference? Had not a new epoch arrived in the relative position of the United States towards Europe, which Europe must acknowledge? Were the great political and commercial interests which hung upon the destinies of the new continent, to be canvassed and adjusted in this hemisphere, without the co-operation or even knowledge of the United States? Were they to be canvassed and adjusted, he would even add, without some proper understanding between the United States and Great Britain, as the two chief commercial and maritime States of both worlds. He hoped not, he would wish to persuade himself not. Such was the tenor of his remarks.

"I said that his suggestions were entitled to great consideration, and that such, and others of the same nature, would probably not escape the attention of my Government, as they had not him. There might, I was aware, be room for thinking that the late formation of these new states in our hemisphere would impose new political duties upon the United States, not merely as coupled with the great cause of national freedom, but as closely connected also with

their own present and future interests, and even the very existence, finally, of their own institutions. That for myself, speaking only as an individual, I could well conceive that the interposition of an authoritative voice by the United States in favour of these new communities, admitting that the powers of Europe usurped a claim to control their destinies, would imply no real departure from the principles which had hitherto regulated their foreign intercourse, or pledge them henceforth to the political connections of the old world. If, too, that voice happened to be in unison with the voice of Great Britain, I admitted that it might prove but the more auspicious to the common object which both nations had in view, without committing either to any systematic or ulterior concert; but, I added, that as the question of the United States expressing this voice, and promulgating it under official authority to the powers of Europe, was one of entire novelty as well as great magnitude in their history, it was for my Government, and not for me, to decide upon its propriety. Concomitant duties and consequences of a momentous nature might be bound up in such a step. I was willing to take upon myself all fair responsibility attaching to the station which I held; but

here was a conjuncture wholly new. It presented a case not seeming to fall within the range of any of the contingent or discretionary duties which could have been in contemplation when I was clothed with my commission as minister to this court. For meeting a case thus extraordinary, if I could do so at all, I ought to have some justification beyond any that had yet been laid before me. Such was my opinion; such the conclusion to which I had been forced to come on full deliberation.

"He said, that the case being new might serve to account for my not being in possession of previous or specific powers bearing upon it, but that its very nature precluded delay. He had the strongest reasons for believing that the co-operation of the United States with England, through my instrumentality, afforded with promptitude, would ward off altogether the meditated jurisdiction of the European powers over the new world. Could higher motives exist to co-operation, and immediately? Let it be delayed until I could receive specific powers, and the day might go by; the progress of events was rapid; the public evil might happen. A portion of it might, and probably would, be consummated; and even admitting that Great Britain could, by

herself, afterwards arrest it, as he believed she could, preventive measures among nations were always preferable, whether on the score of humanity or policy, to those that were remedial. Why then should the United States, whose institutions resembled those of Great Britain more than they did those of the other powers in Europe, and whose policy upon this occasion was closely approximated to hers, hesitate to act with her to promote a common object approved alike by both, and achieve a common good estimated alike by both? Such was the drift of his remarks, which he amplified and enforced with his wonted ability. He finished by saying, that his station and duties, as the organ of this Government, would oblige him to call upon me in another way, if I continued to feel unable to assent to his past proposals; "for," said he, "if a congress be, in fact, assembled on the affairs of Spanish America, I shall ask that you, as the representative of the United States at this Court, be invited to attend it; and if you should not be invited, I shall reserve to myself the option of determining whether or not Great Britain will send a representative to it." After a moment's pause, he added, "Should you be invited, and refuse to go, I shall still reserve to myself the same option;

so you see how essential it is, in the opinion of Great Britain, that the United States should not be left out of view, if Europe should determine to take cognizance of the subject." Words so remarkable could not fail to make a distinct impression upon me, and I give them as they fell from him, as nearly as I can.

"The complication of the subject," said I, "may be cured at once, and by Great Britain. Let Great Britain immediately and unequivocally *acknowledge the independence of the new States.* This will put an end to all difficulty; the moment is auspicious; every thing invites to the measure; justice, expediency, humanity, the repose of the world, the cause of national independence, the prosperity and happiness of both hemispheres; let Britain but adopt this measure, so just in itself, so recommended by the point of time before us, and the cause of all Spanish America triumphs; the European Congress might meet *afterwards*, if it chose take so harmless a step."

He said that such a measure was open to objection; but asked if he was to understand that it would make any difference in my powers or conduct?

I replied, the greatest difference. I had frankly informed him that I had no powers to consent to his

proposals in the shape in which they had first been presented to me in his note, and I would as frankly say, that I had no *specific* powers to consent to them, coupled with the fact of this Government acknowledging the independence of the new States; but that great step being taken, I would stand upon my general powers as Minister Plenipotentiary. Into these, other nations would have no claim to look. I would be the interpreter of them myself. I had no hesitation in saying, that, under this general warrant, I would put forth, with Great Britain, the declaration to which he had invited me; that I would do so in the name of my Government, and consent to its formal promulgation to the world under all the sanctions, and with all the present validity, that I could impart to it. I had examined all my instructions for years past, bearing, either directly or remotely, on the great cause of these new States; I saw in them all so steady and strong a desire for the firm establishment of their freedom and independence; I saw too, sometimes in their letter, and always in their spirit, so concurrent a desire to see their independence acknowledged *by Great Britain*, as I had often made known to Lord Castlereagh, that I would not scruple, on seeing that important event come

about, to lend my official name to the course proposed, and count upon my Government stamping with its subsequent approval the part which I had acted. No other authority would be likely in the mean time to draw into question what I did; and if I could thus be instrumental in any degree towards accelerating the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence, I should feel that I had achieved a positive and great good. Upon British recognition hung, not indeed the final, but perhaps in an eminent degree the *present* tranquillity and happiness of those States. Their final safety was not, as I believed, at the mercy of European dictation; but we could not disguise from ourselves, that it might prolong their sufferings, and cast fresh clouds over their prospects. It was in this manner that I expressed myself; imparting to him with entire candour, my feelings and determinations; as well as the precise ground upon which the step I was called upon to take, ought to rest, and would place me.

He said that among the objections to recognizing, at present, was still that of the uncertain condition, internally, of these new States; or at any rate of some of them. He had, for example, sent an agent in January last to Mexico, supposing that Iturbide

was at the head of affairs; but by the time he had arrived, a fresh revolution had set up other representatives of the executive authority. The same internal vicissitudes were to be remarked in other of these communities, more to the South.

As to internal vicissitudes I remarked, that the dilemma thence arising, was not greater than had been witnessed in France during a period of more than twenty years, while her revolution was in progress; than had been seen in Naples more recently, or than was experienced, at the present time, by Great Britain in her diplomatic intercourse with both Portugal and Spain. Had we not seen revolutions and counter-revolutions, royal governments, constitutional governments, and regency governments, succeeding each other, almost day by day, in the oldest countries of Europe? Why then be surprised at changes in the new world? These very changes would be likely to be largely, if not entirely, checked, by the fact of the new States being recognized by Britain. It would tend to give stability to their institutions; and, by breaking down the hopes of the discontented and factious among themselves, become guarantees for their greater internal tranquillity. They had given ample proofs both of military power

and political wisdom. Look at Buenos Ayres, which as long back as 1807, could repulse the well appointed legions of even Britain herself. Look at Colombia, which was now laying the ground work of a confederacy for all Spanish America, and at the same time marching her auxiliary forces into Peru, to uphold the cause of emancipation upon that shore. Everything attested the stability of that cause. Spain might go on with her languid efforts, and protract the miseries of war; but over Spanish-American independence, she had no longer any control. Europe had no control over it. It was a question for ever settled. It would soon be seen by Britain that the United States, in their proposals for adjusting with Russia, and with Britain, the respective pretensions of the three Powers on the coast of the Pacific, were forced to take for granted the independence of all the late colonies of Spain on that continent, as the inevitable basis of all just and practical negotiation. Their independence was, in fine, the new political element of modern times, and must henceforth pervade the political arrangements of both worlds. Why then should Britain longer forbear to acknowledge this independence? She had already done so in effect, and why should she not in

form? She had already, by her solemn statutes, made her trade with those new States lawful; she had stood ready to support it with her squadrons; she was on the eve of sending out commercial agents to reside in some or all of them, as the guardians of British interests—all this she had done, and more. She had declared in her state papers, that the question of their independence was *substantially* decided, though the formal recognition of it might be retarded, or hastened, by external circumstances. What external circumstances could be imagined more imperious for hastening this formal recognition, than those now existing; when Spain was seen to be wholly incapacitated from regaining dominion over them, and continental Europe meditating such unwarrantable designs upon them?

"It was thus that I endeavoured to unfold what I suppose to be the views and convictions of the President upon this most important subject. Our conversation was a prolonged one, and characterized by the freedom with which I have reported it; in doing which I have sedulously aimed at faithfully presenting all its material points. I do not flatter myself with any sanguine belief that this Government will be prepared to yield to my appeals in favour of im-

mediate recognition; but I am to have another interview with Mr. Canning on a day that he is yet to name, and I can only say that I will be prepared to renew and extend them as opportunities may be afforded me.

"Not knowing what other topics might rise up during our interview, I had carried several of my papers with me, and amongst them a copy of your despatch, No. 71. I was glad that I did so; for, thinking that the sentiments which it so forcibly expresses on the value of the existing and prospective concord between our two countries would be acceptable, I did not scruple, in unison with the spirit of our conversation, to read to him, before we separated, its introductory pages. He was struck with their applicability, and I hope that so opportune an exhibition to him of such sentiments, recently coming to me from the high source of my Government, may not be without its value.

"Should a Congress be assembled to crush Spanish-American independence, and I receive an invitation to attend it, I shall not go; though the time for me to say so here, will not arrive until the invitation comes. First, I should have no warrant from the President to attend it; and next, I infer from what

Mr. Canning said on this point, that England may, perhaps, not incline to send a representative to it, should the United States have none. I should in this manner do more good by my absence, than my presence could effect. Mr. Canning, as it appeared, was not entirely aware, until yesterday, that I was prepared to come fully into his views, if this Government would immediately acknowledge the new States. I had intended that the concluding sentence of my note to him of the 27th of August, already transmitted to you, should start the idea to his mind, though I abstained from putting it forth more openly at that period of our correspondence.

"I have the honour to remain, with very great respect, your obedient Servant,

"RICHARD RUSH.

"The Honourable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Secretary of State."

September 26. Had another interview with Mr. Canning at Gloucester Lodge, at his request. The subject of our discussions on the 18th instant, was renewed. He informed me of a despatch he had received from Sir Charles Stuart, British Ambassador at Paris, which had a bearing upon them. It mentioned a conversation he had held with Mr. Sheldon,

Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Paris, the purport of which was, that Sir Charles having mentioned to Mr. Sheldon the projects of France and the Continental Alliance, against Spanish America, the latter replied, that the Government of the United States was aware of them, and disapproved of them. Mr. Canning, inferring that this reply of our Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, probably rested upon some new instructions to him from Washington, also inferred that, if so, it might probably lend its aid towards my consent to his proposals to me of the 20th of August. He was the rather induced to give way to this hope, he said, as the despatch of Sir Charles Stuart was written altogether on his own motion, without any previous communication received from him, Mr. Canning, upon the subject.

I replied that I could not undertake to say, with any confidence, what instructions might have been sent to the United States Legation at Paris on this subject; but that I scarcely believed that any could have reached it, not common to me; and that I was still without any, beyond the general instructions I had unfolded to him in our interview on the 18th; but that upon their basis, I was still willing to go

forward with him in his proposals, upon the terms I had made known.

He now declared that England felt great embarrassment as regarded the immediate recognition of these new States; embarrassment which, he admitted, had not existed in the case of the United States when they adopted the measure of acknowledging them; and then he asked, whether I could not give my assent to his proposals on a promise by England of *future* acknowledgment.

I replied that, under the peculiar importance of the whole subject, and, considering the relation in which I stood to it, I could not feel at liberty to take the step upon any other footing than that of immediate acknowledgment by England. Further conversation passed, though only of a desultory nature, and the interview ended.

In reporting to my Government what passed at it, I remarked that, although Mr. Canning naturally sought ends for England in his proposals to me, yet, as they were at the same time auspicious to Spanish-American independence, and went hand-in-hand with our policy, I could not do otherwise than approve of them; and would therefore continue my willingness to give them effect, if he would come to the ground

I had proposed to him as an equivalent; a ground, however, which it would seem, from what last passed between us, he will not be willing to accede to at present.

October 8. Had an interview with Mr. Canning at the Foreign Office at his request, on the business of the approaching general negotiation.

From the memorandum which I had left with him on the 16th of August, he proceeded to read over in their order the subjects proposed to be brought into the negotiation, and, after making a few remarks upon each, he professed it to be his desire to take them all up, except, perhaps, the subject of maritime rights. Questions under this head, it was rather the present desire of his Majesty's Government to leave untouched, though he did not mean as yet to give a decided opinion to that effect.

For conducting the negotiation on the side of Great Britain, he informed me that Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Stratford Canning would be appointed, the latter having got back to England from his mission to Washington; and that all the subjects would be committed to their hands, except that of the slave trade. This, he intimated it to be his wish to take in hand himself, and thus keep it detached from the general

negotiation. I replied that I understood it to be rather the desire of my own Government that all the subjects should, if possible, be discussed and settled together; but, as he continued to intimate a wish to separate this one subject from the rest, I did not deem it expedient or proper to object, as the result, if we accomplished anything, would be substantially the same.

He then said that the negotiation might commence the latter end of next month, if I would be ready by that time; remarking that the great variety of the subjects to be considered, added to other calls upon his own time, as well as Mr. Huskisson's, prevented the assignment of an earlier day for its commencement. I replied, that I would be ready on my part at that time, though would prefer waiting for a colleague, if I had any certainty that my Government would send one out to me. He said he would willingly wait for that object, if I wished it.

When we spoke of taking up the question of the slave trade, I thought it best to intimate at this early stage, that, unless this Government was prepared to say it would cause an act of Parliament to pass, declaring the trade by British subjects to be piracy, and rendering it punishable as such, in manner

as had been done by an act of Congress of the United States, I was not authorized to enter into any negotiation upon the subject. He said in reply that he was glad to think, speaking from his first impressions, there would be no insurmountable obstacle on that score.

Nothing passed between us on this occasion on the topic of Spanish-American affairs, beyond the information, which he gave me, of his intention to send off consuls to the new States very soon; perhaps in the course of the month.

I asked him whether consuls, or commercial agents? He said that they might as well be called by the former name perhaps, as they would be charged with the duties, and invested with the powers, belonging to the consular office. I asked whether they would be received in that capacity by governments between which and Great Britain no political or diplomatic relations yet existed? He replied, that he could not speak with absolute certainty, but his anticipations were that they would be received.

The foregoing information was forthwith transmitted to my Government.

November 25. Had a full and final interview yesterday with Mr. Canning at the Foreign Office, on the affairs of Spanish America.

November 26. Report what passed, in the following despatch to the Secretary of State.

"London, November 26, 1823.

"SIR,—I had an interview with Mr. Canning on the 24th instant at the Foreign Office, when he afforded important information on Spanish-American affairs, which I now proceed to lay before you.

"He began by saying, that our conversation on this subject at Gloucester Lodge, on the 26th of September, having led him to conclude that nothing could be accomplished between us, owing to the ground which I had felt it necessary to take respecting the immediate recognition of the late Colonies by Great Britain, he had deemed it indispensable, as no more time was to be lost, that Great Britain should herself, without any concert with the United States, come to an explanation with France. He had, accordingly, seen the Prince de Polignac (French Ambassador in London), and stated to him that, as it was fit that the two Courts should understand each other distinctly, on the Spanish-American question, it was his intention to unfold the views of Great Britain in an official note to him, the Prince; or to Sir Charles Stuart, the British ambassador in Paris,

to be communicated to the French Court; or in the form of an oral conference with the Prince himself, whichever of these modes the latter might indicate as preferable. The Prince after taking some time to decide, finally agreed to adopt the mode of oral conference, with the precaution of making a minute of the conversation, so that each government might have in its possession a record of what passed.

"In pursuance of this course, Mr. Canning held several conferences with Prince Polignac in the early part of October, in which each party unfolded the views of their respective governments, and agreed upon the written memorandum or paper which was to embody them.

"This paper, Mr. Canning said, was of a nature which did not leave him at liberty to offer me a copy of it; but he had invited me to the Foreign Office for the purpose of reading it to me, having only since his return from the country last week, exhibited it to the Ministers of the other Powers, and not yet to all of them.

"He accordingly read the paper to me. When he had closed I said to him, that its whole matter was so interwoven with our past discussions, written and verbal, on the whole subject, that I could not avoid

thinking my Government would naturally expect a copy, as the regular termination of a subject, the previous stages of which it had been my special duty to make known to my Government. To this remark he replied, that he would willingly furnish me with a copy of that part which embodied the views of England; but that where those of France were at stake, he did not feel that he had the same discretion.*

"I am therefore relieved from the task of recapitulating to you the contents of that portion of this paper, of which I may expect to receive a copy. The points which chiefly arrested my attention as new to me, and to which I will advert without waiting for the paper itself, were, first, that England declares that she will recognise the Independence of the Colonies, *in case France should employ force in aid of their re-subjugation;* secondly, in case Spain herself, reverting to her ancient colonial system, *should attempt to put a stop to the trade of Britain with those Colonies;* but it is not said what Britain will do beyond recognising their Independence, her ulterior conduct being left to be shaped, as we may infer, by ulterior events. She claims a *right* to trade with the

* In the end, I was furnished with a copy of the whole paper.

Colonies, under a promise by Spain herself, given as long back as 1810, as an equivalent for British mediation offered at that day, between the parent State and the Colonies. As regards the form of government most desirable for the Colonies, considered as Independent States, a preference is expressed for monarchy, could it be practicable.

"With the exception of the foregoing points, I recollect nothing material in the paper as regards the policy or intentions of Great Britain, not heretofore made known in my own communications upon this subject, beginning with that of the 19th of August. The letter of Mr. Canning to Sir Charles Stuart, of the 31st of March, 1823, is still assumed as the basis of the policy of England.*

"To report with the requisite accuracy the views of France from this paper, read over but once to me, I might find a task the more difficult from having

* This is the State paper, which, besides giving the general views of Britain as regards the Colonies, contains also the full avowal of her opinions on the then approaching war between France and Spain, stating her uniform endeavours with the European Powers to induce them to abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of Spain; and declaring, that so long as the struggles and disturbances of Spain should be confined within the circle of her own territory, they could not be admitted by the British Government to afford any plea for foreign interference.

had less acquaintance with them beforehand. I will therefore not attempt to do so in any detail, from a fear that I might err; and because it is quite possible that an entire copy of it, although not given to me, may get to your hands through some other channel. I am not able, for my own share, to discern the adequate motives for wrapping it up in such secrecy, and have little doubt but that even the public journals of Europe will, before very long, enlighten us with sufficient precision on its whole contents. The London journals of the present week have made some beginning towards it.

"Having said thus much, I will proceed in my endeavours to state the main points of this paper, where it was illustrative of the policy of France.

"It declares that France, like England, considers the recovery of the Colonies by Spain as hopeless.

"It expresses the *determination* (I think this was the word) of France not to assist Spain in attempting their reconquest.

"It expresses the desire of France to see the dispute made up by amicable arrangements between the mother country and the Colonies.

"It disclaims for France all idea of exclusive commercial advantages from the Colonies, saying that,

like Britain, she only asks to be placed upon the same footing with the most favoured nation after Spain.

"It knows not what there is to be *recognised* in the Colonies, as independent; France regarding all government there as a mockery.

"It labours to show the necessity of assembling a Congress to which England should be a party (which she declines), to bring about the benevolent end of reclaiming those remote regions from their past errors, and making up the dispute between them and the parent State on terms satisfactory to both, as the policy worthy of both.

"These were the material points of the paper as I recollected them after listening to a single perusal of it. I am sensible that I state some of them in a way to start further questions as to their true meaning; questions which I could myself raise without being able at this moment to solve. The apprehensions of Britain, however, seem to be fully allayed, at least for the present; and it is certain that she does not now anticipate any speedy interruption of the peace of Europe from this cause. The language which France now holds to Britain is obviously at variance with that which her manifestoes breathed when her troops entered Spain in the spring.

"In the course of the paper on the British side, there is a notice taken of the interest which the United States have in the question. This is met on the part of France by a declaration that she does not profess to be acquainted with our views on the subject. The notice of the United States is in that part of the British paper which relates to the assembling of a Congress in Europe. I might probably have made myself more accurately master of the whole paper, by recurring in conversation to some of the passages after Mr. Canning had finished reading it; but I was precluded the opportunity by the near approach of another appointment impending over him.

"Notwithstanding the tranquillizing professions of France, it would seem that the sentiments of Russia, if we may draw inferences from Pozzo di Borgo's address to the King of Spain, which has just come before the world, still are, that the Holy Alliance is bound to keep a superintending eye upon the affairs of Spain throughout all her dominions.

"I have the honour to remain, with very great respect, your obedient Servant,

"RICHARD RUSH.

"Honourable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Secretary of State."

CHAPTER XXIII.

COURSE OF THE UNITED STATES IN REGARD TO SPANISH AMERICA.—DECLARATIONS OF PRESIDENT MONROE IN HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER, 1823.—THEIR EFFECT IN EUROPE.—REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF SUSSEX'S; AT MR. CANNING'S.—INTERVIEWS WITH MR. CANNING ON THE NEGOTIATION.—NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA, THE PROMINENT TOPIC.—ENGLAND OBJECTS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-COLONIZATION ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS, TAKEN BY PRESIDENT MONROE.—INTERVIEW WITH MR. CANNING PREPARATORY TO OPENING THE NEGOTIATION.

THE despatch with which the preceding chapter closed, substantially terminated the correspondence and conferences I had held with Mr. Canning on the topic, so interesting at that juncture both to Europe and America, of Spanish-American affairs. I had further conferences with him; but none necessary to be recounted, as they made no change in the course of England.

The plans of France, as regards the new States, which were understood to be fully the plans of her continental allies also, had certainly changed from those which her manifestoes implied when her army, reputed at 100,000 men, entered Spain under the

Duke d'Angouleme, in April, 1823, on its destination to Cadiz; which destination it reached, over all opposition. The object of that invasion was the overthrow of the constitutional government in Spain, on the alleged ground, among others, of liberating the King from the trammels of the Cortes.

That this change in France and her allies was produced by the knowledge, that England would oppose, at all hazards, hostile plans upon Spanish America, may be inferred with little danger of error. The certainty of it is, indeed, part of European history at that epoch.

As regards the course of the United States I will here only add that by the early transmission of the proposals made to me by Mr. Canning, in his notes of the latter end of August, the copies of them, as well as of my reports of our conferences on the whole subject, arrived in Washington in time to engage the deliberations of President Monroe and his cabinet, before the meeting of Congress in December. The cabinet was still composed of the names given in the former volume; and it was very satisfactory to me to learn that the part I had acted was approved. Although, in the end, no concerted movements took place between the two Governments, the

communications to me, from the Secretary of State, in responding to the overtures of Mr. Canning, were in a high degree conciliatory towards England; and framed with every just sensibility to the frank and friendly spirit of those overtures. This I duly made known to Mr. Canning.

[Referring again to the long interval which has elapsed since the foregoing was written, the writer feels that there can be no impropriety in his here recalling, at this late day—what the Author has not chosen to do—the strong language of President Monroe on the occasion, namely, that our Minister could not have met Mr. Canning's proposals better, if he had had the whole American Cabinet at his right hand.—ED.]

But, although no joint movement took place, my despatches had distinctly put before our Government theintentions of England, with which, in the main, our policy harmonized; and President Monroe, in his opening message to Congress, which followed almost immediately afterwards in December 1823, put forth the two following declarations :—

1. That it was impossible for the Allied Powers to extend their political system to any part of America, without endangering our peace and happiness; and

"equally impossible therefore, that we should behold such interposition with indifference."

2. Whilst alluding to discussions between the United States and Russia, then commenced with a view to arranging the respective claims of the two nations on the north-west coast of America, the President also declared, that "*the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.*"—[This was the foundation of the celebrated "Monroe Doctrine," so often referred to in American History, the origin and nature of which may be new to some English readers.—ED.]

The first of these declarations was probably expected by England, and was well received. Everybody saw, at once, that it referred to the hostile plans of the Allied Powers against the late Spanish Provinces.

The second declaration was unexpected, and not acquiesced in.

When the message arrived in London, the whole

document excited great attention; Spanish-American securities rose in the stock market, and the safety of the new States from all European coercion, was considered as no longer doubtful.

It may be inferred that my despatches, reporting all that had transpired with Mr. Canning, had an influence upon the declarations in President Monroe's message; and it may also be inferred, that the moral certainty which England derived through my correspondence and conferences with her Foreign Secretary, that the United States would, in the end, go hand in hand with her in shielding those new States from European domination, even had the certainty of it not been otherwise deducible, must have had its natural influence upon her counsels when she explicitly laid down that policy for the admonition of the continental Allies.

November 28. Passed last evening at Count Munster's, Grosvenor Place, where we had most of the diplomatic corps, and other company. My wife says, Count D'Aglie, the Sicilian Minister, told her, that the late King, George III., in talking once to the Dutch Ambassador, called Holland an *aquatic* Power. The King used the term in good-humour; but the Count added, that the Ambassador did not like it.

November 30. Dined at the Duke of Sussex's, Kensington Palace. Prince Cimitilli, Mr. Roscoe, (author of Lorenzo de Medici), Sir James Macintosh, Dr. Lushington, of the civil law courts; Mr. Denman, Mr. Jekeyll, and others, made the party.

His Royal Highness the Duke uttered sentiments favourable to constitutional liberty, with his accustomed frankness and fervour, Mr. Roscoe seconding everything of this kind. The former asked if we had any Tories left in the United States. I said, a few, probably, in their abstract notions of government. Mr. Roscoe asked if they wished re-union with England. I replied that I did not believe there was a single individual in our country who entertained such a wish; we had grown too strong in ourselves. The voluminous and complicated state of the English law became a topic. Dr. Lushington remarked that no man could comprehend it all, and that it called loudly for revision and arrangement. He alluded to the numerous and increasing subdivisions in the profession of the law, as a consequence of the confusion and entanglements of the law itself, and thought it operated unfavourably upon the profession, tending to cramp the minds of its members, by limiting the range of their professional knowledge.

Cards being spoken of, his Royal Highness said, that the division and numbers of the pack were supposed to have had a connexion among the Egyptians (he gave cards that antiquity) with astronomical science. First, the fifty-two composing the pack, answered to the weeks of the year; next, thirteen of a kind agreed with the fourth part of the year, divided into weeks; then again, four different kinds, answered to the four seasons; and, lastly, by counting up from the ace to ten, then counting the knave as eleven, the queen as twelve, and king as thirteen, you get ninety-one. Four ninety-ones give you three hundred and sixty-four, the number of days, according to some calculations, in the year.

His Royal Highness mentioned that the English Government had a plan for purchasing up the whole slave population of their West India islands, to get rid of slavery in them. This was new to me, and seemed so to others at table. At first blush, I thought it struck all as very bold, if not impracticable.

How far the great West India Emancipation-act, since carried into effect by Britain, on the foundation of what the Duke of Sussex then said, will result favourably to the interests of humanity in those

islands, does not, as yet, seem to have been ascertained.

December 10. Dined at Mr. Canning's, Gloucester Lodge. Mr. Planta, Mr. Stratford Canning, Mr. Chinnery, and a few others, were the guests.

At dinner, Mr. Canning took less than his usual share of the conversation, leaving it chiefly to his guests. Ships and steam-boats formed one of the topics. All agreed that naval science was on the eve of great revolutions, and soon to be carried to a much higher pitch than the present or past ages had witnessed.

At this classic villa of the Foreign Secretary, one of the suite of rooms is the library. We went into it, to coffee, after leaving the dinner-table. The conversation became literary. Washington Irving's Sketch-book was spoken of, and highly commended. Mr. Canning said it was a work of extraordinary merit; but he preferred the American pieces. In this preference others joined. The "Dutch Schoolmaster," and "Rip van Winkle," were singled out, as rich in humour. The topic changing, Swift came on the tapis. Several of his pieces were called up, with genuine gusto. Mr. Canning was on a sofa; Mr. Planta next to him; I and others in chairs,

dotted around. "Planta," said Mr. Canning, "hand down the volume containing the voyages, and read the description of the storm in the voyage to Brobdignag; seamen say it's capital; and as true, nautically, as Shakespeare is, when he undertakes to use sea terms." Mr. Planta took down the volume, and read the passage. One sentence in it runs thus: "It was a very fierce storm, the sea broke strange and dangerous; we hauled off upon the lanniard of the whip-staff, *and helped the man at the helm.*" When he was done, all admired the passage, under this new view and commendation of it, which Mr. Canning had given us. He himself said nothing for a few moments, but sat silent; then, as if in a reverie, he uttered, in a low tone, yet very distinctly, the words, "*and helped the man at the helm! and helped the man at the helm!!*" repeating them. It seemed as if the *helm* at the Foreign Office, with all its anxieties, had suddenly shot into his mind, clouding, for a moment, his social ease. His familiar friends of the circle bantered him a little on that fancy. He declared off, however, and only said that it was a fine passage. So passed this agreeable evening in the library at Gloucester Lodge.

April 23. I antedate once more, in the present

year, to allude to an official dinner at Gloucester Lodge. Dined at Mr. Canning's. The entertainment was in honour of the King's birth day. We had all the Ambassadors and Ministers, and, in addition, two Princes of Bentheim, one of them a general in the Austrian service; Sir George Rose, late British Minister at Berlin; Lord Clanwilliam, his successor; Sir Brook Taylor, English Minister at Munich; Sir Henry Wellesley, now English Ambassador at Vienna; Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Mr. Planta, Lord Francis Conyngham, Lord Howard de Walden, and Lord —— Bentinck.

The table glittered with plate; and the glittering costumes of the ambassadors was superadded. I sat next but one to Mr. Canning, and had Sir Henry Wellesley on my left. With the latter I had conversation about Spain, where he had recently been ambassador. I found little opportunity, at so large and ceremonious a dinner, of conversing with Mr. Canning; but was able to make a brief allusion to what had fallen from him in the House of Commons a few days before, on the neutral course of the United States in '93, saying with what pleasure I had read it. He replied to my remark by saying, that he had lately been examining the state-papers of our Govern-

ment at that era, and that they presented, in his opinion, especially the letters of Mr. Jefferson, while Secretary of State, principles well fitted to enter into the neutral code. The Ambassador of the Netherlands, who sat close by, appeared to listen with as much interest as I did, to this tribute from such a source, to the American defence of neutral rights.

It may be worth subjoining, that another of the European Ambassadors, and from a larger power, who sat farther off from Mr. Canning, sought me out on the day following, when I met him at another dinner, to ascertain what it was Mr. Canning had said to me about neutral rights; remarking that he had caught just enough of his words to know the subject, but nothing more. I told him; adding, that what he had publicly said in the House of Commons on the 16th of April, amounted, in effect, to the same thing.

December 12. Had an interview with Mr. Canning, on the subject of the general negotiation. He asked if I still despaired of having a colleague. I said not utterly; but my hope was so slender, that I could not justify it to my duty to ask any delay whatever in bringing on the negotiation, but would be ready at any time. As a further motive to an

early beginning I remarked, that perhaps we might then hope to get through with some of the heaviest parts, before the meeting of Parliament in February; after which his own and Mr. Huskisson's engagements in the House of Commons, might be likely to interpose delays to our progress. He informed me, that the instructions on their side were in daily course of preparation, but that he did not now think a beginning could be made with any advantage, on the score of expedition, until after the Christmas holidays, and that these would not be over until after the first week in January.

December 17. Had an interview this morning with Mr. Canning, at Gloucester Lodge, expressly sought on his part with a view to speak to me on the subject of the North-west coast of America.

Learning on my arrival, that he was labouring under an attack of gout, I would have deferred the interview to suit his convenience; but he had given orders for receiving me in his chamber, into which I went, where I found him in bed, though anxious to see me. His motive, he said, was, to be put in possession of an outline of our views in regard to the North-west coast, before preparing his instructions to their Ambassador at St. Petersburg on the same

subject. I accordingly stated them. A map of the coast and country was spread upon the bed, and, whilst his head was raised up on pillows, I was able to point his attention to the lines on the map which traced our title. He went into no remarks, beyond simply intimating, that our claim seemed much beyond any thing England had anticipated. I said that I had the hope of being able to show its good foundation when the negotiation came on. Further conversation of a general nature passed on the subject, and on coming away I left with him, at his request, a brief, informal statement of our claim, in writing.

Vespasian, when too ill to sit up and attend to business, gave audience to ambassadors in bed. Lord Chatham, when confined to his bed with the gout, received and did business with his colleagues of the Administration. Here, in addition, a Foreign Secretary of England, in bed with the gout, receives and transacts business with a foreign Minister.

December 18. Yesterday, before night came on, Mr. Canning's servant brought me a private note. It was familiarly written, telling me that he remained as when I saw him; but that, when I had left him, he naturally looked at my memoran-

dum; and, when he did look at it, how could he help exclaiming, "What is here! Do I read Mr. Rush aright?"

> "The United States will agree to make no settlement north of 51, on Great Britain agreeing to make none south of that line."

"So far all is clear," continues Mr. Canning in his note. "The point of contact is touched, and, consequently, the point of possible dispute between the United States and Great Britain; but the memorandum goes on——"

"Or *north* of 55."

"What can this intend?" continues his note. "Our northern question is with Russia, as our southern with the United States. But do the United States mean to travel *north* to get *between* us and Russia? and do they mean to stipulate against Great Britain, in favour of Russia; or reserve to themselves whatever Russia may not want?"

The note ends with saying, that he had given me only his first thoughts, and hoped I would "help him to clear the perplexity of them."

I aimed at this, by answering his note instanter.

I said, that it was even so; our proposal was, that Great Britain should forbear further settlements south of 51, or *north* of 55, for we supposed that she had, in fact, no settlements above 55; and we supposed *that* to be also the southern limit of Russia, it being the boundary within which the Emperor Paul granted certain commercial privileges to his Russian-American company in '99. "Fifty-one was taken," my answer went on to say, "as the northern limit of the United States, because necessary to give us all the waters of the Colombia;" and it added, that we "had no design to concede to Russia any system of colonial exclusion, above 55; or deprive ourselves of the right of traffic with the natives above that parallel." This was the general explanation I gave of the little memorandum in writing I had left with Mr. Canning; which, brief as it was, had been carefully drawn up from my instructions. My note concluded with saying, that I was charged by my Government with other views of the whole subject; which, when the negotiation came on, I had the hope would be satisfactorily made out.

Under this date (the 18th), I received a second familiar note from Mr. Canning, written from his bed, in which he says, that he would take my explana-

tion, "like the wise and wary Dutchman of old times, *ad referendum et ad considerandum.*"

January 2, 1824. Had an interview with Mr. Canning, at Gloucester Lodge, at his request. His attack of gout had passed off. The interview was mainly to confer on the subject of the North-west coast. He objected strongly to our claim going as high north as 51, and hoped we would not urge it. He said, that it was to the south of this line that Britain had her dispute with Spain about Nootka Sound. How, therefore, could she now yield this point to the United States? It was a question too important for her to give up. He again hoped we would not urge it.

The President's message having arrived since our last interview, he referred to that part of it which holds out the principle, that the United States will henceforth object to any of the powers of Europe establishing colonies on either of the continents of America. If I had instructions, he wished me to state the precise nature and extent of this principle. He had not before been aware of it. Suppose, for example, that Captain Parry's expedition had ended, or that any new British expedition were to end,

in the discovery of land proximate to either part of the American continent, north or south, would the United States object to Britain planting a colony there? I said, that when such a case arose it might be considered; that I had no instructions on the principle since it was proclaimed in the message, but would be prepared to support it when the negotiation came on. He then said, that he would be under the necessity of addressing me an official note on the subject, prior to writing to their Ambassador at St. Petersburgh; or else decline joining us in the negotiation with Russia relative to the North-west coast, as we had proposed. The latter was the course which he would prefer, not desiring to bring this part of the message into discussion at present, as England must necessarily object to it. Further conversation passed as to the best mode of dealing with the principle in our approaching negotiation.

January 5. Had an interview with Mr. Canning relative to the North-west coast. He said that he was still embarrassed in the preparation of his instructions to Sir Charles Bagot, in consequence of the non-colonization principle laid down in the message; and hoped I would be inclined to the negotiation proceeding separately, without England joining

with the United States, as contemplated by my Government. I replied, that I was entirely willing that the negotiation should take that course, as far as I had any claim to speak.

January 6. In a despatch to the Secretary of State of this date, I mention Mr. Canning's desire that the negotiations at St. Petersburgh, on the Russian Ukase of September, 1821, respecting the North-west coast, to which the United States and England had equally objected, should proceed separately, and not conjointly, by the three nations, as proposed by the United States, and my acquiescence in this course.

January 21. Had an interview with Mr. Canning at the Foreign Office. Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Stratford Canning were present. It was agreed that the general negotiation should be opened, in form, on the 23rd instant, at the office of the Board of Trade.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GENERAL NEGOTIATION OPENS.—SUBJECT OF THE SLAVE TRADE FIRST TAKEN UP.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF SUSSEX'S; AT MR. STRATFORD CANNING'S.—RENEWED INTERVIEW WITH MR. SECRETARY CANNING ON SPANISH-AMERICAN AFFAIRS.—SECOND MEETING OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES ON THE BUSINESS OF THE NEGOTIATION.—INTERVIEW WITH THE DEPUTIES FROM GREECE.—THIRD MEETING OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.—WEST INDIA AND COLONIAL TRADE.—NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.—DINNER AT PRINCE POLIGNAC'S, FRENCH AMBASSADOR.—FOURTH MEETING OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S; AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S; AT MR. PEEL'S.—CONVENTION RELATIVE TO THE SLAVE TRADE AGREED UPON AND SIGNED.—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO ITS DEFEAT.

JANUARY 23. The negotiation opens at the office of the Board of Trade, Great George Street, Westminster. The British Plenipotentiaries, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Stratford Canning, hand me for inspection their original full power from the King; and I hand them mine, under the President's autograph, constituting me the Plenipotentiary of the United States.

It having been agreed that the subject of the Slave Trade should be taken up first, I proceeded to open it on the side of the United States, and read the entire *projet* of the convention transmitted to me by the Secretary of State, with his despatch of the 24th of June, 1823.

The British Plenipotentiaries said that they would take the whole into careful consideration. They remarked that Britain wanted nothing, on her part, to put down this trade, so far as her own subjects were concerned; her laws against it being already effectual, and having put a stop to it as far as laws could. I replied, that such was also the case with the United States; that, for ourselves, we wanted nothing further, and offered this *projet* only to meet the call for a substitute for the British proposals hitherto made to us, but which the United States, under their constitutional system, and for other reasons, had been compelled to decline; and also to meet the request expressed in a resolution of the House of Representatives, passed by a vote nearly unanimous, in the winter of 1823.

Immediately after the negotiation was, in due form, opened, the British Plenipotentiaries remarked, in manner altogether conciliatory, that should our labours unfortunately end without any treaties growing out of them, which however they did not wish or mean to anticipate, the failure would at least not disturb the good understanding subsisting between the two nations; a remark to which I cordially responded.

January 25. Dined with the Duke of Sussex, where we had a small party. On rising from table, we went into the rooms containing his Royal Highness's library, in one of which coffee was served. The whole suite was lighted up, enabling us to range through them, and glance at the books. The entire collection was stated to be fifty thousand volumes, chiefly formed by himself within a few years. They are arranged in different rooms according to the subjects. Of theology, there were said to be fifteen thousand volumes, comprising one thousand different editions of the Bible, several of them polyglot editions; his Royal Highness being a good linguist, and fond of biblical learning. The first Bible ever printed with types was in the collection. One hundred and thirty guineas was the price given for it, and it seemed to be prized even beyond that sum by its royal owner.*

* This liberal-minded and excellent Prince died a year or two ago. He was always attentive to American gentlemen, when afforded opportunities of making their acquaintance. None shared more largely, or better merited, his esteem, than our late Minister to England, Mr. Stevenson; and perhaps I may here add, that when the latter was about to visit Paris in 1837, his Royal Highness, on his own friendly impulse, gave him a letter of introduction to the King; which ardently breathed respect and goodwill to the United States, as well as to Mr. Stevenson personally.

January 26. Dined at Mr. Stratford Canning's. Mr. Huskisson was there, and requested that our second meeting might take place on the 2nd of February, instead of the 29th instant as first appointed; which was agreed to. Mr. Secretary Canning was of the party, and much pleased with the commencement of our work on the Slave Trade. He had been informed of my *projet* of a convention, called it a promising "first step," and one which he hoped would be productive of good fruit in the end.

February 1. Had an interview with Mr. Canning, at Gloucester Lodge, on Spanish-American affairs. I read to him a despatch received from the Secretary of State, dated the 29th of November, 1823, which laid down the principles of my Government on this subject, and gave answers to his propositions and communications to me of last summer and autumn, the basis of which intervening events had changed.

Mr. Canning then mentioned to me the present position of England in relation to this subject; and that it might be known to me the more precisely, he handed me for perusal a despatch which he had prepared to Sir William A'Court, British Ambassador at Madrid, of date so recent as the 30th of January. It was written in consequence of the Ambassador having

informed his Government that Spain had again been addressing herself to France, Austria, and Russia, calling on them to hold a congress at Paris (to which England was *not* to be invited), for the purpose of assisting Spain in the recovery and establishment of her authority over her colonies in America. I read the despatch entirely through. The substance of it was :—

1.—That England disapproves of the plan.

2.—That she thinks the day gone by for all interference towards a settlement of this contest, unless on the basis of the independence of the new States; and that she, England, is willing to mediate between the parties on that basis ; *but no other*.

3.—But that she is nevertheless willing that Spain should be allowed special advantages over other nations, England being still content to stand on the footing of the most favoured nation *after* Spain.

4.—She expresses a desire that Spain should herself be the first among European powers to acknowledge their independence; and that she should do it promptly. The despatch urges this measure strongly, and intimates it to be the intention of England to wait a while longer, in the hope of its adoption.

5.—But that, should Spain refuse to adopt it, or

indefinitely put off the recognition of the new states, England will herself recognise them; and that this may even happen in a few months.

Such was this official paper, resolved into its essential points. A full copy of it was afterwards sent to me, which I transmitted to my Government. Mr. Canning said to me, in conclusion, that he had no belief whatever that any Congress would now be held, and before I came away expressed anew his wishes for the auspicious progress of our negotiation.

February 2. The Plenipotentiaries of the two governments met according to appointment, at the same place as before. The British Plenipotentiaries had drawn up the protocol of our first conference, which, with some additions to it which I suggested, was agreed to.

They then went, at large, into the consideration of some of the articles I had submitted on the Slave Trade. They raised objections to some of the provisions, made queries as to others, and were full and free in their general remarks. I replied to them all, under the lights of my instructions, and such others as occurred to me. Many of their objections and difficulties, they admitted, went rather to the details

of the plan than its substance; and they said that they would consult more fully with their law-officers, under every anxiety to see all objections satisfactorily removed. We adjourned on this footing, after having been together several hours, agreeing to meet again on the 5th instant; but as it was hardly supposed, by the British Plenipotentiaries, that they would be able, at so early a day, to see their way through all the first difficulties growing out of the plan I had offered, it was agreed that we should take up the subject of commercial intercourse at our meeting on the 5th; making a pause for more careful examination, and reflection on the subject first opened.

February 3. Had an interview with the deputies from Greece, resident in London, Mr. Orlando and and Mr. Luriottis, to the latter of whom I delivered a letter from Mr. Adams, Secretary of State.

It was a letter in answer to one written to the Secretary, in which Mr. Luriottis had asked, at the hands of the United States, active aid to the cause of Grecian emancipation. In declining to afford this aid, Mr. Adams, as the organ of the United States government, puts the refusal on the ground of constitutional and international duty, not on any senti-

ment of indifference to the cause of Greece, but excluding such an inference; and I was requested to accompany the delivery of his answer with remarks and explanations of my own, in unison with its spirit —a duty which I gratefully performed. Mr. Bowring, an active, intelligent friend of the cause of Greece, in London, was present at the interview.

Mr. Orlando had lately been President of the Senate of Greece, and said, that he was charged by that body to convey to me its thanks for the interest I had shown, last winter, in London, in the cause of Grecian emancipation. This had merely reference to an occasion on which I had publicly uttered expressions of good will to that cause of suffering humanity in a classic land,—a feeling common to Christian mankind; yet, in further and over-merited return for such expressions, Mr. Luriottis also delivered to me, from Prince Mavrocordato, Secretary of State of the Grecian government, a letter of personal thanks.

February 5. The Plenipotentiaries met at the office of the Board of Trade. The protocol of the last conference was read, and, with some alterations, agreed to. Mr. Huskisson stated, that Mr. Lack's engagements at the Board of Trade would prevent his attending to the duties of Secretary to the

British Plenipotentiaries, and that they had appointed Anthony St. John Baker, Esq., in his stead.

According to the understanding at our last adjournment, I proceeded to open the whole subject of commercial intercourse between the two nations, agreed to be brought into the negotiation. I did so, with the fulness suggested by the Secretary of State's instructions; as well as the necessary review of all past negotiations and conferences with the British Government, in which I had myself borne a part. In conclusion, after stating what appeared to me the main facts and principles, I offered to the British Plenipotentiaries a paper which I had drawn up, and marked A, consisting of three articles. The two first stated the footing upon which the United States now desired to place this commercial intercourse; and the third provided for our free navigation of the river St. Lawrence.

As explanatory at large of the nature and grounds of the latter claim, after having, in my verbal opening, stated, in a general way, the principles of public law on which it was placed, I offered a paper, marked B, which I had also prepared, that it might be annexed to the protocol.

To the footing on which my articles proposed to

place the West India and Colonial trade, the British Plenipotentiaries made strong objections at first blush; yet said, that they would give them, full consideration, in the hope that something might be made of them under their own modifications, after having them in hand for more careful scrutiny.

The paper, marked B, in support of our claim to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, they appeared unwilling to receive in that light, until they could consult their Government, and requested a delay of their decision on the point until our next meeting. The claim was entirely unexpected and new to them; —they had anticipated nothing of the kind. It was so that they expressed themselves; and in the strongest terms of objection to the doctrine I advanced. They asked what equivalent I was prepared to offer for our claim to the navigation of a river, flowing through a channel, both shores of which were admitted to be within British territory, and under exclusive British jurisdiction? and when I replied, none, for the reasons made known in the paper I had drawn up, they manifested increased objections to it.

We separated, after a long sitting; the British Plenipotentiaries saying, that they would give every consideration to my proposals, and the papers with

which I had accompanied them. The 10th of the month was appointed for our next meeting.

February 8. Receive a note from the British Plenipotentiaries requesting a postponement until the 16th instant, of our meeting appointed for the 10th.

February 15. Dined at the French Ambassador's, Prince Polignac, Portland Place. It was an entertainment given to all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, and most of the members of the Cabinet. * * * * shows much desire to know how the negotiation goes on; and, especially, if we had got to the maritime questions; and what we mean to do upon them. I tell him, that we have not got to them; that there will be a great deal to say when we do, which perhaps other nations may think important; and that, at a future day, I can have no objections to resuming conversation with him on the subject. He says, that there are rumours about the extent of our demands. I ask, of what nature? He does not know, or draws back from telling; and only refers to our principle of non-colonization on the American continents. He asks, if I have understood how France views that principle. I answer in the negative, and express a hope that France may not inter-

vene on such a principle, considering all the circumstances now surrounding it in the hands of the United States, whose Plenipotentiary had to meet the known opposition of the whole British Cabinet to it, and the probable influence of Russia superadded. He said, his impression was, that France also had objected to it, or would.

February 16. The Plenipotentiaries met. The protocol of the last conference was agreed to and signed.

The British Plenipotentiaries gave no answers to my proposals respecting commercial intercourse, but ample discussions took place upon them. They stated, and reiterated, the improbability of being able to agree to them in their present shape, assigning reasons at large; and asked if I had no other proposals to offer. I said none, to change essentially the grounds of those submitted; but added, that if they failed, in the end, to prove acceptable, I would gladly receive their counter proposals for transmission to my Government, if unable previously to mould them into anything myself.

The paper marked B, on the navigation of the St. Lawrence, they objected vehemently to inserting on the protocol. They thought it too argumentative

to be considered within the spirit of the right reserved by each party, to annex written statements to the protocol; saying, that the right, if exercised in this manner, instead of being used as simply explanatory of oral statements, would lead to elaborate written discussions on each side, contrary to what had been their understanding as to the mode in which the negotiation was to be conducted.

I replied, that I was not tenacious of its being annexed to the protocol; but the claim which it embraced, being one of great magnitude to the United States, and new to all past discussions between the two countries, all I desired was, that it be received as a paper containing a general exposition of the principles upon which my Government rested the claim for the United States, and would expect their Plenipotentiary to defend it. In this light they said they would receive it, as I expressed a wish to that effect. They denied wholly the right we claimed; saying, that the principles of public law were against it, and the practice of nations; though it was not their purpose, at the present moment, to go into the argument, or produce their authorities in answer to the contents of the paper I had drawn up.

February 28. Dined at the Marquis of Lans-

downe's, where I met Admiral Sir Edward Codrington. He told me that he was at the battle of New Orleans, and related some particulars of it. He knew Mr. Edward Livingston, one of General Jackson's aids, and since our Minister to France. Coming on board the fleet on business from General Jackson, he was detained several days by Admiral Cockburn, and carried to Mobile. Sir Edward remarked, that his conversation and whole bearing, made a highly favourable impression on the British officers; of which all would be sure who knew Mr. Livingston, his talents, attainments, and train of gentlemanly qualities.—[Mr. Livingston was long a Senator of the United States, from Louisiana, and also Secretary of State in General Jackson's Cabinet, during a part of the time that the latter was President. He was among the foremost of American Statesmen, and nobly seconded President Jackson's successful measures for maintaining the cause of the Union during the "nullification" dispute with South Carolina, when the latter threatened to "nullify," or set aside, a Law of Congress.—ED.]

February 29. 'Dined at the Duke of Wellington's. We had several of the diplomatic corps and their ladies, my wife among the latter, and other company.

Of the number was Mr. Secretary Canning, with whom I conversed. He was very cordial; probably the more so from the points of difference which seem to be unfolding themselves in the negotiation; of which, however, we did not speak on this occasion.

The Duke's sideboard was full of lustre. The most prominent piece of plate upon it this evening, was the celebrated shield, a present to him from the City of London. It is of pure gold. On it are represented, in bas-relief, and in alto, the most important of his victories. The cost of this munificent present was stated to be fifteen thousand pounds sterling. Virgil has almost described it:—

> "On Tyrian carpets richly wrought they dine;
> With loads of massive plate the sideboards shine;
> And antique vases, all of gold embossed,
> (The gold itself inferior to the cost
> Of curious work,) where on the sides were seen,
> The fights and figures of illustrious men,
> From their first founder to the present Queen."
>
> DRYDEN. *Æneid*, book i.

March 6. Dined at Mr. Peel's, Home Secretary of State since the resignation of Lord Sidmouth. We had nearly all the diplomatic corps, and other guests. In the table ornaments, you saw the alliance of taste with wealth. When Mr. Adams returned to

Washington, in 1817, from the English mission, he was accustomed to say, speaking of the public men of England, that for extensive education and knowledge, combined with superior endowments of mind and effective oratory, he regarded Mr. Peel as first amongst those then advancing into renown—an opinion remarkably sustained by the result; and all who have read the speech of Sir Robert Peel, on his inauguration into the office of Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, in 1837, may see in it that his mind is not less thoroughly imbued with the spirit of all that is chaste and elegant in literature, than stored with the solid acquirements which, as Premier of England, have given him a mastery over public affairs in their largest range and combinations, as well as in their most minute details.—[During a residence of four years in England, from 1837 to 1841, the writer recalls no British Statesman whose gifted and classical mind, varied endowments, ample knowledge on all subjects, ready and disciplined eloquence, and ever flowing periods, did more to enlighten and charm his audience, night after night in the House of Commons, than the late Sir Robert Peel.—ED.]

The conversation at table, had, as one topic, the

reforms in the law, which Parliament has taken in hand, and with which Mr. Peel has had so much to do. In alluding to them this evening, even his incidental and brief remarks told the listener how able he was to look at the law, as a science, through the lights of his general reading in that and other fields; and therefore qualified to take hold of it with a reforming hand, though no professional man.

Prince Polignac, French Ambassador, was of the company. While we were in the drawing-rooms, after dinner, I had conversation with him on the relations between France and the United States. It had not proceeded far, when he alluded to Lafayette's intended visit to the United States, and in a tone of complaint, friendly indeed, but decided. What caused it to be complained of? I asked, how was this possible? "It was the *invitation* given to him by our Government, and offer to send a frigate over to France to convey him to our shores." These things it was, he said which, considering the relations Lafayette held to the present Government of France, gave him pain, and would pain others in France. I endeavoured to remove this kind of sensibility in him, by the simple remark, that I thought all France ought to regard the visit

in a light precisely the reverse; for that, if it were possible by any single incident, beyond any other imaginable, to revive in the United States the ancient attachment to *Bourbon* France, it would be this very visit of Lafayette; whose presence once more among us, after so long an interval, would almost rekindle the enthusiasm of the revolution, recall Washington to us, whose favourite Lafayette was, and the times when French hearts and arms were united with our own, while a Bourbon filled the throne of France.

"March 7. Prince Polignac visits me. He resumes the topic of yesterday at Mr. Peel's, urging anew his friendly complaint; whilst I enlarged upon the contrary and soothing view of it, held up to him yesterday—but probably with as little success.

All may do homage to the consistent devotion of such a man as Prince Polignac to his Sovereign, and sympathise with him while a prisoner in Ham Castle; but it is not easy to regard in the same light the clearness of his understanding.

March 15. Under this date I transmit the convention subsequently spoken of to the Secretary of State, with a despatch giving an account of all the discussions which led to its conclusion.

I stated that I had offered, in the first instance, to the British Plenipotentiaries, the *projet* enclosed to me, in the form I had received it. That I considered the essential principles of it to be; first, That England was to declare the Slave Trade piracy, as the United States had done. Second, That the vessel captured on suspicion of being a slave trader, by any of the public ships designated for that purpose from the navy of the two powers, was to be sent for adjudication to the country to which she belonged, and never, if an American vessel, be tried by British tribunals; we, on the other hand, not claiming to try British vessels before our tribunals. Third, that no individual belonging to the crew was ever to be taken out of the accused vessel. Fourth, That the capturing officer should be laid under the most effective responsibility for his conduct in all respects. Fifth, That no merchant vessel under the protection, or in the presence of a ship of war, was ever, under any circumstances, to be visited by a ship of war of the other nation.

I stated that these essential principles were all secured by the convention; although, in the progress of the negotiation, the British Plenipotentiaries had objected so strongly to them for the most part, that

the convention had well nigh fallen through, under their objections; that if in the details necessary to give validity to these cardinal principles, I had, in some instances, yielded up my own phraseology in favour of theirs, and in some other respects at last acceded to their views on points which I did not deem essential, and where their argument seemed entitled to attention, they still reminded me, that the preponderance of concession was largely on the British side, taking the convention as a whole.

Before the convention finally fell to the ground, Mr. Canning sounded me as to the plan of a qualified restoration of the words struck from the first article, so as to restrict the right of cruising to the southern coast of the United States, as the part alone where slavery was found. I replied at once, that it would be decidedly objectionable, as carrying an appearance, I was sure he could not intend, of our being a divided nation. He rejoined that he could have no such thought, having only thrown out the suggestion in his anxiety to save the convention from destruction.

England had no solid foundation for complaint at the refusal of the Senate to ratify the convention as signed in London. She knew it to be a fundamental

provision of our constitution, that no treaty was finally valid until it received the sanction of that body. My full power to negotiate, a copy of which her Plenipotentiaries were in possession of, stated, that whatever treaty or convention I concluded, was to be transmitted to the President for his final ratification, "*by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.*"

Yet, it is not to be disguised that she was disappointed at the result: First, because the words which the Senate struck from the first article, and which alone, in the end, had been the means of destroying the convention, were introduced in our own *projet*, prepared under the eye of the executive government of the United States at Washington. To this it was answered, that the Senate had differed from the President; a difference not to have been foreknown, and no more than a natural occurrence under our constitutional forms, although it may not have been frequent in the case of treaties. And, secondly, because we had made it a *sine qua non* to entering upon the negotiation, that she should declare the Slave Trade piracy, by act of Parliament; which she accordingly did. To this we answered, that whatever appearance of concession, beforehand, this might

carry, England had an independent moral ground on which to rest her act of Parliament, in the acknowledged enormity of the offence which it denounced as piracy; the laws of the United States having also previously branded it with the same guilt.

I add, in conclusion, on this head of the general negotiation, that President Monroe was prepared to have ratified the convention exactly as I had signed it in London; of which I informed the British Government; and he was pleased to convey to me, in the same despatch in which this was declared, (one from the Secretary of State, of the 29th of May, 1824,) his approbation of the course I had pursued in the negotiation.

[Here follow, in a separate chapter, first some further general views of the author with respect to the remaining subjects of the negotiation, of which one only has been disposed of in the preceding pages; and then the author's detailed and voluminous report, to the Secretary of State, of the progress and conclusion of the negotiation, under date of the 12th of August, 1824. As this document is of great length, occupying one hundred and fifty pages of the edition from which this is reproduced, and as the whole was published by Congress at the time, it has been

thought hardly worth while to insert it here; especially as the subjects of the negotiation, belonging now more to a past age, could only possess an interest at this late day for a limited class of readers. It has been determined therefore to conclude the volume, after the next remaining and final chapter, with a few of the author's "Occasional Productions," published in Philadelphia, after his death, in 1859, but never before published in England, which may perhaps be found to be of more general interest now. These have been more particularly referred to in the preface to this edition.

A single passage however from the author's general observations with respect to the negotiation, will be given in his own words, immediately preceding his Report to the Secretary of State, as eminently due to two of the great men of the early day of the American Republic. They are as follow :—ED.]

"Let its history convey the just award to that virtuous and honourable man, pure patriot, and wise chief magistrate, James Monroe; whose services and worth ought to be freshened in the eyes of his country. A noble-minded man he was, without a particle of selfishness or ill-directed ambition in his whole nature; a man of Roman mould; honest, fear-

less, and magnanimous; who, having shed his blood in the war of the revolution, and risked it in that of 1812, the official prop of which he was at the darkest crisis of Mr. Madison's administration, sought, with returning peace, to establish, on the broadest foundations, the relations of peace, and lessen the calamities of future wars, when wars were to come. Let the just award be also given to his Secretary of State, Mr. Adams; whose extraordinary endowments and fervent patriotism are stamped upon the instructions I received. I do not republish them, as they would swell too much the bulk of this volume; but their great and enlarged ends, under some views, and profound sagacity for his country's interests, under others, will be sufficiently collected, I trust, from my Report."

CHAPTER XXV.

LEVEE AT CARLTON PALACE.—INFORM MR. CANNING OF MY RECALL, AND ASK AN INTERVIEW WITH THE KING, A TIME FOR WHICH IS APPOINTED.—THE MISSION CLOSES WITH AN AUDIENCE OF LEAVE OF THE KING.

APRIL 20, 1825. Attended the levee. Gave Mr. Canning information of my recall, having been invited home by President Adams, to preside over the Treasury Department at Washington. I asked, when I might hope for the honour of an audience of the King, to deliver my letter of recall, and take leave of his Majesty. He appointed the 27th instant.

Mr. Canning congratulated me in friendly terms on the home trust to which I was called, and proposed that we should correspond after I returned to the United States; to which I cordially assented.

'I had half an hour's conversation with Sir John Copley,* and the Bishop of London, on our late Presidential election. Both agreed, that its quiet termi-

* Afterwards Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst.

nation, considering the number of candidates in the beginning, (Mr. Crawford, Mr. Adams, General Jackson, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Calhoun,) spoke well for our constitution, and the political habits of the people.

April 23. Dined at Mr. Canning's with all the foreign ambassadors and ministers, it being St. George's day, and the dinner given in celebration of the King's birthday. Mr. Canning was not at table, being suddenly unwell. Mr. Planta and Lord Howard de Walden did the honours of the table for him.

April 27. Had my audience of leave of the King. I said, that having been called home by my Government, I had the honour to deliver to his Majesty a letter from the President, mentioning his intention of recalling me; in delivering which I was charged by the President to say, how sincerely it was his desire to maintain, in all respects, the good understanding which had subsisted between the two countries, during the period I had resided at his Majesty's Court.

The King reciprocated fully the President's desire, and thought proper to say that he was sorry I was going away, though, having understood the cause, it

was to be expected; and he added other kind words. Lord Bathurst was present at the interview. I thanked his Majesty for the many tokens of kindness with which he had honoured me during so long a residence at his Court. He inquired as to the time of my embarkation, probable duration of the voyage, health of my family, and so on; the conversation lasting fifteen or twenty minutes, when I took my leave.

END OF COURT OF LONDON.

SELECTIONS

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CHARACTER OF MR. CANNING.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES LIKELY TO RESULT FROM HIS DEATH.—LORD GODERICH.—LORD LIVERPOOL.—MR. CANNING'S POLITICAL SYSTEM.—UNTIL 1823, THAT OF UNEQUIVOCAL TORYISM.—HIS ADVOCACY OF THE CATHOLIC CLAIMS AN EXCEPTION TO HIS HIGH-TONED MAXIMS OF CHURCH AND STATE.—GLORIED IN LORD CLARENDON'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CREED OF THE STUARTS.—HIS OPINIONS OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.—HIS RIDICULE OF POPULAR REPRESENTATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—HOBHOUSE, WILSON, BURDETT.—CONFLICTS WITH MACINTOSH AND BROUGHAM.—HIS MASTERY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—BIRTH OF HIS LIBERALISM.—HIS BRITISH SELFISHNESS.—ITS PRINCIPLE AND AIM; NO "DELIRIOUS PHILANTHROPY" FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE; THE POLICY HE MEDITATED TOWARDS THIS HEMISPHERE.—THE CHAMPION OF LIBERALISM, WITHOUT HAVING EVER BEEN ITS CHILD; BEAUTIFUL TRIBUTE TO HIM BY SIR JAMES MACINTOSH; HIS DEVOTION TO THE GLORY OF BRITAIN.—CLOSING REMARKS UPON HIS GREAT CAREER.

THE death of Mr. Canning naturally leads, on both sides of the water, to conjectures on the consequences likely to flow from an event so important. Our impressions, under the first intelligence of it, were, that the system of which he was the centre would also fall; but we have less confidence in those impres-

sions, as we reflect upon them, and especially if Lord Goderich should be his successor. We are amongst those who think very favourably of Lord Goderich. From our observation of his course, we believe, that, if his powers be not absolutely of the first order, they place him near to that class of men; not, indeed, as a Parliamentary orator, that great touchstone of the popular and historic fame of a British statesman, and without which it never gets up to the highest pitch; but as a clear-headed, diligent, and efficient man of business. In his successive posts of President of the Board of Trade, Treasurer of the Navy, and Chancellor of the Exchequer (the last beyond comparison the most trying of any under the British Government, that of Prime Minister excepted), he has evinced these attributes, and has been steadily gaining upon the public confidence and esteem, both as a man of affairs and a speaker, as the orbit of his duties has enlarged. His fine education and admirable temper fit him to bring about, by conciliation and address, what the more transcendent and uncompromising abilities of Mr. Canning would carry by storm. But the latter, poising himself upon his own strength, was so ready, on the slightest excitement, to hurl defiance and scorn into the ranks of his

opponents, to launch upon their heads such bursts of vituperation, that a more exasperated resistance to the system in his hands, might, in the end, have placed it in more peril than may attend it in those of a successor like Lord Goderich; who, though, it may be, not the person to have introduced, may be found able, with enlightened colleagues, to go on with it. Lord Goderich belongs to the *class* of statesmen where Lord Liverpool stood, although there are individual differences of character between them. The former has more of promptitude and sprightliness in his mind, with a natural and highly cultivated suavity; the latter is more grave, more systematic, more inflexible. Lord Liverpool was far from being endowed with a genius of the first order. But, by the force of a good judgment, long exercised upon public affairs on a great scale; by unwearied pains in acquiring all the knowledge necessary to his station; by respectable parliamentary powers, notwithstanding the slurs of Madame de Staël, for he was ardent, and sometimes even vehement, in debate; by a courteous yet firm temperament, and by a reputation for probity always of the highest and most unblemished kind, he rose at last to a height of *influence*, that has rarely, if ever, been surpassed by any Prime

Minister of England. It was an influence resting upon the weight of character, never upon the splendour or weight of intellect. Lord Goderich, who has scarcely yet reached his prime, may be destined, under the guidance of kindred qualifications, to a career of the same distinction, though not able to ride in the whirlwind and govern the storm, like George Canning. And who is there in England, just now, it has been asked, who can? For seasons of extraordinary agitation, Lord Goderich might be less fitted to take the helm; but we see nothing in the immediate situation of Britain or of Europe to appal him from the task. We should not have judged, however, that his predilections would have led him to scenes of perpetual and fierce contention.

We have spoken of Mr. Canning's *system;* but, in truth, we do not know that he had a system. Until 1823, the public history of his country, and its literary history too, identify him with unequivocal, zealous toryism. Like Pitt, it is true, and some others of this stamp, he advocated the Catholic claims. But here was the chief, if not only, exception to his high-toned English maxims of Church and State. On other points, and those the most leading, he took the very creed of the Stuarts, as far as it

could be applied to his own day. He openly gloried in Lord Clarendon's illustrations of it. In particular, he held, that the Constitution of England was essentially monarchical, and he perpetually and vehemently beat down with all his arguments, and ridiculed with his wit, every idea of popular representation or parliamentary reform, wherever it came in his way, in the House of Commons or out of it. Hobhouse and Wilson, and even Burdett, he would scathe with his sarcasms, as often as they obtruded the topic upon his hatred in the House of Commons; while with Macintosh and Brougham, when they took it in hand, he would grapple with still higher and more earnest exertions of strength. Wit, logic, and eloquence, were the weapons that he wielded, according to the nature of his adversaries and his subjects. Their united force gave him the mastery of the House of Commons, making him irresistible. His eloquence and wit were vivid and glittering, and his logic, less elementary than practical, was, nevertheless, learned enough for debate, and always clear, earnest, and powerful. On the point of the original and fundamental monarchical character of the British Constitution, one of his speeches at Liverpool embodies a defence under doctrines some of which Hobbes him-

self scarcely transcends. Nor, until the recent period indicated, did he spare reform, or liberalism, or republicanism, or any popular movement for political melioration, upon the continent, any more than at home.

But, in 1823, a crisis came. In that year the armies of France were marched across the Bidassoa, to trample down the Constitution of Spain. England, already out of humour by the previous encroachments of the Holy Alliance upon her supremacy, broke loose entirely at this fresh and more alarming disregard of her will. The British Lion, kept under by Lord Londonderry, was now roused. Then sprung into being the liberalism of Mr. Canning. Then, on motives of his own, and for objects of his own, was he first seen in these lists. It was not, in him, an individual selfishness—no, his soul was above that. It was British selfishness. This was its beginning and its end; this its inspiring principle, and only aim. It was not a liberalism devoted to the freedom of this hemisphere, for freedom's sake; but a feeling that flew into sudden and indignant action to *counteract* the part that continental and French ambition were playing in the peninsula of Europe. Of the *tyranny* of that in-

vasion, no denunciations escaped Mr. Canning. He had never any "delirious philanthropy," as M. de la Bourdonnaye called it, in the French Chamber of Deputies, for the sovereignty of the people. We are not saying this in disparagement of the illustrious deceased. We are saying it as descriptive of him. We repeat it from himself. He made it his *boast*, and it was cause of boast to him, that British policy, British interests, the hope of British sway, were ever uppermost in his aspirations and schemes. To secure *these*, he called, as he said, the new States of America into existence. Truly he did, so far as the share that England had in that great work was concerned; and it goes to make up a rich portion of his fame; as the earlier forecast of Henry Clay, acting upon an expanded love of human liberty, earns for *him* laurels, still richer, in the same field. If this be not the award of justice to Mr. Clay, the part which the United States *first* took in that great work, must for ever pass for nothing. If it be not the award of justice, the recollection, that the United States recognized them in 1822, must be struck from history, because England recognized them in 1825.

Mr. Canning's settled devotion to the principles of monarchy, as illustrated in the constitutional

monarchy of England, where the king is little more than nominal; his constant, and, doubtless, his honest, conviction of its intrinsic superiority over all other forms for the government of man, marked the policy which he meditated towards this hemisphere. His official conferences with Prince Polignac, the French Ambassador at London, record his preference of this form for the new States: agreeing here with the equally avowed predilections of France. Nor is it believed that, to the day of his death, he abated anything of this preference, though its practical establishment in the new States he had too much of practical wisdom to pursue. Hence, Mr. Canning's system was not of his own formation or choice. Nor did he look to it as a system for the world at large. It was thrown upon him by the force of circumstances; and how much longer it might have lasted, or into what new or eccentric paths it might have sparkled off, had he continued in charge of its destinies, is perhaps not easy to affirm. He suddenly found himself the *champion* of liberalism, certainly without ever having been its *child*;—unlike Napoleon, who had been pronounced, by a former British Premier, the child *and* champion of democracy. Whilst he held this championship, such

is always the political state of Britain, that the eyes of the world turned to him with alternate hope and dread. He was enthusiastically cheered by the friends of liberty everywhere. They regarded not so much the fortuitous causes that had unexpectedly invested him with so high and perilous a championship, or the motive, or even sincerity, of his allegiance to its tenets, as the good that he might achieve, whilst exercising it, *de facto*, with a fearless spirit and a giant's arm. The same portions of mankind hailed, also, in his brilliant arrival at the summit of power, under the first monarchy of Europe, the triumph of genius over all the obstacles that a gorgeous aristocracy, and, as a whole, of high intellectual culture too, threw in its way. Sir James Macintosh said of him once, in the House of Commons, that he had incorporated in his mind all the elegance and wisdom of ancient literature. Beautiful tribute, from such a source! It was offered at a period when they were political opponents, but each generous, elevated, and accomplished.

With all our admiration of the mental powers of Mr. Canning, whether as inherited from nature, or carried to their highest pitch by culture and discipline; whether we marked their efforts when brought

to the most momentous trials, or only gazed at them when they dazzled in lighter ones, truth compels us to state, that he was never the political friend of this country. He was a Briton, through and through; —British in his feelings, British in his aims, British in all his policy and projects. It made no difference whether the lever that was to raise them was fixed at home or abroad: for he was always and equally British. The influence, the grandeur, the dominion, of Britain, were the dream of his boyhood. To establish these all over the globe, even in the remote region where the waters of the Columbia flow in solitude, formed the intense efforts of his riper years. For this he valued power; for this he used it. Greece he may almost be said to have left to her melancholy fortunes, though so much alive to all the touching recollections and beauties of that devoted land, because the question of her escape from a thraldom so long, so bitter, so unchristian, was a Turkish and European, not a British, question. If involuntarily hurried, for a moment, into the highest strains of even poetry and enthusiasm, at the thoughts of those classic shrines at which he had so often worshipped, the dictates of the British statesman called him back from his intellectual and moral transports,

making him careful in his steps. For Britain's sake, *exclusively*, he took the determination to counteract France and the Continent, in Spanish America. So, for Britain's sake, he invariably watched, and was as invariably for counteracting, the United States. He had sagacity to see into the present and latent resources of our commercial, our navigating, our manufacturing strength. Upon the knowledge of these, actual and prospective, he took his measures; and, if we may, or do think, that they were not always wisely taken, since true liberality in the intercourse of nations is, in the end, apt to prove true wisdom, each in turn being benefitted by it, still he took them in a spirit that was British.

But we will stop. Mr. Canning's name belongs to history, and we are presuming to touch it whilst the shock of his death still rings in our ears. To departed genius reverence is due. Britain has entombed him side by side with her most illustrious sons, and will raise monuments to his exertions to extend her power and elevate her renown. Those who knew this highly gifted man more nearly, testify, that his intercourse in the relations of private and social life was as attractive, as his public career was

brilliant and commanding. He was, indeed, the grace and ornament of a society refined by age, by education, and by wealth; ascendant in the highest literary circles, and adding dignity to those of rank. He was amiable in his family, devoted to his friends, magnanimous among his foes. That his career has been as brief as brilliant, does but tell us how fleeting are human hopes! He had ascended to the pinnacle of all his earthly ambition—only to die.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH.

VISIT TO GROVE PARK.

TOPICS AND OCCUPATIONS DURING THE VISIT.—CITATION OF A PASSAGE FROM MILTON; HISTORICAL PAINTINGS AND PORTRAITS.—LORD FALKLAND, KILLED AT THE BATTLE OF NEWBURY.—HIS CAREFUL DRESS IN ANTICIPATION OF DEATH.—COUNTRY GENTLEMEN ON A RAINY DAY.—PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, QUEEN ANNE, AND FREDERIC THE GREAT.—THE OLD LORD CHANCELLOR'S BED.—THE LIBRARY.—THE PARK.—THE FOX-CHASE.—THE FERRET.—THE HERD OF DEER.—RENEWED INTERCOURSE WITH LORD CLARENDON.—HIS QUALITIES.—THE OWNER OF KENILWORTH.—LADY CLARENDON.—PRAYERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD.—"LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD COLLINGWOOD."—CONVERSATION ABOUT PRESIDENT JACKSON'S MESSAGE RECOMMENDING LETTERS OF MARQUE AGAINST FRANCE—"OLD HICKORY'S" PLUCK ADMIRED IN ENGLAND.—PLEASURE OF THE VISIT.

LONDON, December 14, 1836.

MY DEAR WIFE:

Week before last I went to Grove-Park, according to Lord Clarendon's invitation. My stay was short, even less than three full days, for I was unable to stay longer, though urged to wait the arrival of guests expected the day I came away. I

have written home since making the visit, but said nothing of it, reserving the account of it for you. I write occasionally to one or other of our sons on business; to you as a recreation. I hope this may make my letters, whether short or long, the more welcome.

Grove-Park is not far from London; so that a post-chaise took me there in time for dinner the evening of the day I set out. Then and afterwards our topics and occupations were various. Of the former, matters in Spain, where such furious war is raging between the Carlist and Christinos parties, were among them. Sir George Villiers, heir presumptive to Lord Clarendon's title and estates, is now British Ambassador at Madrid, which led us to talk but the more of the things going on there.* Lord C. spoke much of the Duke of Wellington, whose intercourse and friendship he had largely enjoyed. He told anecdotes of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, remembering my ample intercourse with each when I was Minister here. Some of the anecdotes were new to me, well as I supposed myself to have known both; which shows

* This nephew afterwards became Earl of Clarendon, was English Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the representatives of England at the Peace Congress assembled in Paris in the spring of 1856, after the war against Russia closed by the fall of Sebastopol.

that we live and learn. He quoted from the Italian poets and from Milton. During our second evening he went into his library for a volume of Milton's prose works, and read to me, for greater accuracy than his quotation of it from memory, the following passage, where the great author is speaking of King Charles who was beheaded: "*To descant on the misfortunes of a person fallen from so high a dignity, who hath also paid his final debt both to nature and his faults, is neither of itself a thing commendable nor the intention of this discourse.*" He applied the passage to a point we had been talking about. It is the more creditable to the immortal bard when we remember what a sturdy republican and king-hater he was.

The hall, dining-room, drawing-room, sleeping-rooms, all contain paintings. Many are portraits historical in name and costume, the ancestors of Lord Clarendon among them, though he said it ill became people to be talking of them, adding, "better try to have merit in themselves." Of fancy pieces there is a picture in connection with a riddle addressed to Lord Burleigh. I might fail in describing it, but perhaps may obtain a copy of it. Should I go again to Grove-Park, I will ask for a copy to be taken by an American artist of great promise now here, young

Healy. The request would be granted, I doubt not, and the picture will then come home with me to hang up at Sydenham, when the riddle would speak for itself. What say you to this? Over the mantelpiece in my chamber hung a portrait of Lord Mansfield, Chief-Justice of England in times past. In the saloon was one of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the historian of the civil wars. In the hall was one of a favourite name in English annals, Lord Falkland, a statesman, scholar and good man, who was killed at the battle of Newbury. He dressed himself very carefully on the day of the battle, in which he took part as a volunteer, from an expectation that he would fall, intending to expose himself freely, lest the strong desires he had expressed for peace should be misinterpreted by the king's party, to which he belonged; and not choosing, as he said, that his body should be found in a slovenly condition. It was one of his sayings that he pitied country gentlemen who had no taste for reading when a rainy day came. These may serve as specimens of the collection, which is reputed a very good one in the line of original portraits, many of them full length. Queen Elizabeth's is there, and Queen Anne's; and there is one of Frederick the Great, of Prussia, presented to an an-

cestor of Lord Clarendon who was minister at his court.

I slept in the old lord chancellor's bed. Not the identical feathers, you will exclaim; I don't say that; but the curtains had been his, and that was enough for the imagination to work upon, had I been given to dreaming. To my eye they looked like satin damask interwoven with gold, for it was the age of costly furniture, the fashions of Louis XIV., or some of them, having reached England in the time of the Stuarts, who truckled to Louis in things not quite as harmless as copying his fashions in furniture.

I have said enough of the house and paintings, my stay being too short for more than a bird's eye view. I could only glance at the library; that appendage to every English country mansion I have been to, and which seems to go down as an heirloom.

The park is about three miles in extent, enclosed by a wall and iron railing. Walking in it the morning of my second day with Lord and Lady Clarendon, suddenly we saw a fox-chase. The wall was low, but the railing high. The horses, hounds, huntsmen, sportsmen, all seen through the iron railing scudding along outside of the wall, was to me an unusual sight, and very animating. I stopped short to look at it.

Then I ran ahead to get a nearer view. The fox, it seems, had got inside of the park, and his lordship's consent was asked through a messenger hastily sent, and freely given, for pursuing it within the enclosure. The hounds came in at full speed through a gateway in the wall near to the part where we had arrived in our walk. The whole array, in gay costume, came hurriedly in soon afterwards, well-mounted, as you may imagine, the horses smoking and foaming as all quickly drew up. What a sight it was! I wish you could have seen it; but you must take it at second hand through my poor account of it. The whole hunt gathered eagerly round a huge old tree. I did not know why, but advanced to the spot. The ground about the tree formed a little hillock, and under one of its roots was a dark-looking hole or opening, through which water trickled. This made a hiding-place for the fox, and into it he had darted. The hounds could not get into the opening; but it was soon learned that one of Lord C.'s people had a ferret. The ferret was procured in a trice, and sent in after the fox, with shouts from the sportsmen, which seemed to say, "Now we have him!" But they were too quick. The fox got the better of them, though every expedient was tried to rout him

out. The hole proved something of a labyrinth, which Reynard guessed at, we may suppose. At any rate, it saved his life. I could not grieve at his victory, won against such fearful odds of hounds, horses, men, ferret and all. The jolly sportsmen had to bear their disappointment—some with looks of chagrin, methought. One of them showed me a printed list of the hounds, fifty odd in number, the name of each given in full—a sporting document I must bring home for the curious in such matters to see. Some of our Maryland and Virginia friends might like a peep at it.

After bowing acknowledgments to Lord Clarendon for admission into the park, the whole array galloped out through the gate at which they entered, bent on fresh sport to make up for their first bad luck.

Returning from our walk, we came upon a herd of more than a hundred of the park deer. I had seen none since the days I was with you at your sister Lloyd's at Wye House, and then saw only a few. I quickened my pace to get nearer to them, though, as I broke from my walking companions, I saw that they were distrustful of my getting much nearer. Cautiously did I advance, however, step by step. They suffered me to come within fifty yards or less,

when all stood gazing at me, some full face, some sideways. Suddenly, as if at a word of command, they all bounded off fleeter than the hounds. They seemed to fly, so soon were they out of sight. It was a good finish to the fox-chase, and scarcely inferior as a rural spectacle, in a beautiful English park, on one of the most delightful days of early winter, with the turf still green. We were three hours out, and so ended our walk and the scenes in the park.

I greatly enjoyed this renewed intercourse with Lord Clarendon. The agreeable dinners at his town house in North Audley Street when he was Mr. Villiers, you will remember, as you shared them with me; and you will remember the pleasant little *sobriquet* we had for him. Tell it to our daughters; you can explain it better than I could write it. Here in the country, he has an ampler home than in London, and is surrounded by facilities for a hospitality larger and more various than town residences afford. The first night of my arrival he accompanied me to the door of my chamber, as his servant went before with lights. The last night of my stay, having gone up to my bedroom, after bidding Lady Clarendon and himself adieu as well as good-night, expecting to go off before I could see them in the morning, his servant

brought up a note of a few lines, thanking me for my visit, with a request that I would repeat it. It was midnight when handed to me, the ink scarcely dry. I give you these little samples of him. Some might think them too slight for notice, but you will not; they come home to a guest, and are grateful to him. Gentlemen in all substantial good qualities, are of all times and countries; the character never dies, and in that sense is much the same everywhere, as is often said. But the accomplished gentleman at all points, can only come of culture, under a train of favourable circumstances not open to everybody; and, after all, nature must give aptitudes for this latter character, or it cannot be always alive to the nice feelings, and ready to do the graceful things, that belong to it. This describes Lord Clarendon. His cheerful tone, his acquaintance with the topics of the day, his mind, in the mellowness of age without its prejudices, his care in dress, as time creeps upon him and the person requires it more, with his constantly bland manners, presented, in a person of *seventy-eight*, a model to be remembered. Say you not so? *Yes*, you reply, and to be *imitated*, too. Agreed, I say, if one lives that long and can imitate it; but there's the rub. Still, it is left to all to

admire such a character. He is the man of the world uncorrupted; full of benevolence, and applying to good uses and agreeable pastimes, his fortune and leisure. I shall not disple ase you by saying what I do of him, for I know what you always thought of him when we were here. He likes reading in the country, without the compulsion of a "rainy day." I must tell you he likes horses too; and possibly you may remember, as a middle ornament on his dinner-table once in North Audley Street, a prize cup gained by one of them on the turf. This is my remembrance of it; but I will not be positive. You must correct me if I am wrong.

I went with him through his stables. After seeing his horses and other things there, he pointed out to me, in a detached stall elsewhere, an Alderney cow; a thin, dun-coloured, raw-boned, ugly little animal, but valued for the rich cream it gives. The man in attendance said something of its habits, which I forget; but suppose I bring one home with me, and we will find out all about it? I told you in a former letter that Lord C. owns Kenilworth. A print of the old castle, now in ruins, was engraved some time ago, representing it as it was in Elizabeth's time, whe nthe Queen made that visit to Leicester, immortalized by

Scott in his Kenilworth. Don't you remember how you used to read these famous novels as they came out while we were here, and tell me of the parts I could not read myself on packet days? He has promised me one of these prints—a proof copy; and we must hang it up at Sydenham. [The print, in a large frame, is still preserved in the Author's family.—ED.]

Of Lady Clarendon another word. You will be glad to hear how well she is. She walked the full three miles with us in the park. She was among the whole field of sportsmen by the old tree where the fox saved himself—the gentlemen of the hunt all bowing to her as they reined up. She said she enjoyed the sight, though nothing new to her, from the interest I appeared to take in it. This was just like her, you will say. Being a little late that same morning at breakfast, she gave as an excuse that she had been reading the morning prayers to the household, and had just come from that employment.

Mentioning to Lord C. that our son Madison had just entered the navy, he remarked that he had lately been reading the Life and Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, and that the letters struck him as being calculated to make good men as well as good officers, and perhaps my son might like to read the work.

He asked what we would have done if France had resented President Jackson's Message to Congress, recommending letters of marque under our complaint of her non-fulfilment of the treaty of indemnity, as we had few or no ships of the line as far as he knew, and our whole navy being small compared with that of France. I said that our actual navy afloat was small, but our commercial tonnage much greater, two or three times, probably, than that of France. This made navies and seamen; so that even had war followed, we should probably have been the gaining power by sea, if it had lasted long enough to draw out our naval strength. He avowed himself a man of peace, as I did, and was glad war did not follow, as it might have dragged other parties in; but I mention the subject for the sake of adding, that I thought I could catch his leaning to be on our side, though he did not say it in words. In fact, in my conversations with the English about the Message, (and a good deal has been said about it), it has seemed to me that they liked "Old Hickory's" pluck on the occasion. It tells well for their descendants on our side of the water, they think.

I must now stop. Whether the topics were naval, rural, political, or whatever else; whether in his park,

at his table, or among his pictures and books; I found my visit a truly pleasant one. In nothing was it more so than in the recollections it called up of our residence in this country, such frequent references did Lady Clarendon make to you; Lord C. doing the same.

On my return to town, I found a letter from Mr. Coke, inviting me to Holkham at Christmas, when he expects a party of his friends. A famous assemblage it will, no doubt, be, from the hospitality of that renowned old homestead; but I am unable to accept the invitation, being already engaged to go to Hagley, as you are aware. The last words of Mr. Coke's letter convey his remembrances to you. You will not, I suppose, object to the same remembrances from me, nor to extending them to all around you at home; being Yours and

theirs devotedly,

R. R.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH.

VISIT TO HAGLEY.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.— DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSE.—CHRISTMAS EVERGREENS.—CORDIAL MANNERS OF LORD LYTTELTON.—DIFFERENCE AMONG THE ENGLISH IN THIS RESPECT.—THE LIBRARY.—LADY LYTTELTON AND THE FAMILY GROUP.—HER WELCOME.—NUMEROUS GUESTS.—VIOLENT SNOWSTORM.—DAILY ADDITIONS TO THE DINNER-COMPANY.—REGULARITY OF HOME EDUCATION.—FAMILY PORTRAITS.—HAGLEY CHURCH.—PICTURE-GALLERY AND OTHER ROOMS.—THE PARK.—OCCUPATIONS.—LADY LYTTELTON: HER CHARACTER AND MANNERS.—FAMILY PRAYERS.—LUNCH.—BOAR'S HEAD AND CHRISTMAS PIE.—DINNER.—EVENING OCCUPATIONS.—DIRGE TO LOUIS XVI.—THE HARP AT HAGLEY.—UNPRETENDING ALLUSION BY THE FAMILY TO THE BEAUTIES OF HAGLEY.—ENGLAND'S MERIDIAN FAR OFF.—WASHINGTON IRVING AND HAGLEY.—HIS ARTICLE ON RURAL LIFE IN ENGLAND WRITTEN IN THAT VICINITY, *note.*—ARTIFICIAL RUIN.—POPE'S MONUMENT.—MILTON'S SEAT.—CHURCH-BELLS ON SUNDAY MORNING.—THE LYTTELTON FAMILY.—AUTOGRAPHS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AND CHARLES THE SECOND.—"THE ROYAL OAK."—THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THOMSON'S SEASONS.—RECOLLECTION OF DINNER AT LORD BAGOT'S, AND OF THE CONVERSATION UPON THE ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LORD PALMERSTON, THEN SECRETARY OF WAR.—CONCLUSION.

LONDON, April 4, 1837.

MY DEAR WIFE:

I feel that I have been remiss in suffering months to go by without yet giving you the

promised account of my Christmas week at Hagley. More than once I was on the eve of doing so, when interruptions drew me off. And now, during an interval when I shall probably escape interruption, and have composed myself to that agreeable occupation, I fear I shall recall but imperfectly the incidents of the week; but I will do all I can with the aid of memorandums made while there, or as soon as I returned.

I went, as one of my letters told you, under the invitation received from Lord Lyttelton last fall, soon after I arrived in London. Christmas week was a good one for the visit,—certainly the best I could have had in the winter. To be sure, it was different from the almost feudal week I spent at Holkham when you were here; but, under other views, it was a visit to be remembered as long as that. I was at Holkham in the long days of midsummer. Gentlemen only were there, though, as Mr. Coke told you, ladies would have been invited if you had consented to go. Our movements were in the fields and on horseback, going out at ten in the morning to see agriculture carried on in different forms over the thousands of acres which his estate contained, until all the guests came in at a late hour, to be seated at

immense banqueting tables—reminding you of old baronial days. At Hagley everything was under the roof. All went on in the house. The whole scene was domestic. Winter had commenced in earnest, blowing and snowing; and we saw home life under some of its best aspects in Old England. And what thoughts do not these words wake up in you! Do you not remember the kindness we had in a thousand ways as we lingered on here from year to year? I am sure you do, and that it came not alone from the high in station or title to whom my letter of credence first made us known, but from those who had only their good qualities to speak for them, which gained upon us the longer we stayed and the more we knew of them. This is the Old England we cannot forget; and the Hagley visit has vividly revived many of the recollections belonging to our long residence in this country, which we so often dwell upon in looking back to it.

Without more words, I will give you as faithful a picture as I can recall of the whole week there.

A mere description of the house, if given properly, might fill a letter longer than this ought to be. You enter by flights of steps branching right and left

from the front door, broken by landings, like those at Wanstead House in Essex, the superb dwelling of Wellesley Pole, which we visited with our boys, just before it was stripped of its furniture and the whole pulled down; the bare mention of which house makes me remind you of what * * * * * * told us the rich proprietor once told him; that no wonder he was brought to the hammer, when every one knew that to keep it up with its accustomed hospitality, adding the carriages and servants necessary for the London season when Parliament was sitting, required at least seventy thousand sterling a year, when all that he had was but sixty thousand? The house at Hagley, however, is not so large as Wanstead House. On entering at Hagley, you come into a hall with statuary in the niches. It was decked in evergreens for Christmas; these old customs being kept up, it would seem, as when Washington Irving told us of them in his "Christmas Eve," and "Christmas Dinner," in the Sketch-Book, which came out when we first knew him here. Lord Lyttelton received me before a blazing fire in this hall with great cordiality, giving Harry a like reception.* The

* A son of Mr. Rush, about twelve years old, then in England with him, now Colonel Rush.

English of this class differ much in outward manner, as you know, some, and perhaps the greater portion, showing a reserve at first, little encouraging to strangers; for often have we remarked that it took well-nigh our first three years to get even partially domesticated among them, when, at length, it came, we hardly knew how. Others greet you cordially at first, like the best of our American gentlemen, when you go to see them in the country; and such was Lord Lyttelton's reception of us—certainly the most acceptable to a guest everywhere.

First salutations in the hall over, we passed into a room of ample size containing the library. The book-cases appear to be built into the wall, but stand a little out from it, which shows the books better, and leaves space for paintings in the alternate recesses. The crimson paper and hangings of this room seemed to add warmth to the glowing fire; and here we found Lady Lyttelton and the sons and daughters. It was the family sitting-room during our stay, and wore an *ensemble* of comfort the more grateful, as the cold was piercing for the last ten miles of our journey. The wind had been roaring down the avenue of Spanish chestnuts, leading to the house, as we drove up, the post-boy and my servant feeling its bitings

outside, while I and Harry, though wrapped up in overcoats, shivered inside. From the family group we had a welcome like that in the hall, Lady Lyttelton taking Harry's hand, and accosting him as if she had known him all his life, which happened not to be the case, for she had never set eyes on him before, his English nativity notwithstanding; but it took his heart at once. It was five o'clock, and fully dark, when we arrived. We were the only arrivals that evening. Our first dinner was, therefore, in some measure *en famille*, and came on after we had been up in our rooms a short time, Harry having one communicating with mine, and changed our heavy travelling clothes before a good fire for a dinner dress.

The subsequent arrivals were Mr. and Mrs. Yorke, from Cornwall, the former of the Hardwicke family, the latter a niece of Lord Lyttelton; Mr. Clive, a clergyman, with a good *living* (in other words, income) in one of the neighbouring shires; the Earl and Countess of Dartmouth, from his estate, Sandwell Park, Warwickshire, and their young son, Lord Lewisham, with Miss Barrington, the Countess's sister. The Dartmouths came in their travelling carriage and four, the whole equipage English in its completeness. These made up the house guests,

Lord L. saying he had also invited Sir Charles Bagot, former British Minister at Washington, whom he knew to be an acquaintance of mine, the Bishop of Llandaff, and Dr. Buckland, the eminent geologist, to join the Christmas party. The first was kept away by the approaching marriage of a daughter; the two others by a snowstorm exceeding almost any I can remember in our part of the United States for depth, and the obstructions caused along the roads by drifts. Each day made additions to the dinner company, through invitations sent to some of the neighbours in visiting intercourse with the Lyttel-tons, these guests going away the same night; but by increasing the number at table it gave more variety to the daily dinner-party, where we always had the chief conversation, as then we were concen-trated, whilst during the day we were scattered about the house.

I return to the description of the house, thinking you may all like to hear it. From the library you pass to Lady Lyttelton's morning sitting-room, and from that to the one allotted to the governess. In the latter the studies of the youngest daughter, probably about fourteen, go on; and I leave you to judge with what regularity, when I mention that during this

festive week at Hagley this young lady dined at table but once, as well as I remember, and did not mix with the company in the day-time, though she generally came out in the evenings. The next door opens to the billiard-room. This was freely resorted to by the gentlemen, and ladies too; for as the snow kept us within doors, billiards came in aid of the library for passing time, and gave us exercise. The next door takes you into Lord Lyttelton's private room or study, where he and I had rambling *tête-à-têtes;* our country, in regard to which his inquiries were not few, coming in for a full share of our talk. From his room you are ushered into a spacious saloon. The communication from room to room is in every instance by a single door on the side, these being of full size. In this saloon hung the family portraits. On first looking round it, my eye caught a full-length likeness of the second Lord Lyttelton, dressed in his robes as a peer. This person was a prodigy in his day. He was an accomplished writer and scholar, though not the author of those letters published under his name, one of which, dated the morning after his father's death, began, "I awoke, and behold I was a lord," and another of which contained a horrid description of an evil spirit, as if the writer's brain

had been on fire by dreaming of a legion of devils. Lord Lyttelton told me he did not write them, though a belief was abroad at first that he did, for he could do almost anything ; and the letters imitated sufficiently well his rich and glowing style, and his versatile genius. He was also a good speaker in Parliament and a close student withal, being ambitious both of literary distinction and of statesmanship. How he found the time for all this is the wonder ; for now comes the reverse of the medal, as Sully says of Servin in his memoirs. He too was a libertine of the very first order ; and although not dying precisely like Servin, with the glass in his hand, cursing and denying God, died prematurely at thirty, worn out by his excesses. A female figure like a ghost predicted his death to him at a fixed time. When the night arrived, he was from home with a party of his friends at supper in high revelry. They determined to cheat the said ghost by putting back the clock ; but he died at the time appointed. So, or in some such way, the story runs. The traditions of Hagley abound in anecdotes of him.* His

* A well-written article in the London Quarterly Review some years ago, ascribes the Letters of Junius to the pen of this remarkable person. Many reasons were assigned, some of which

remains lie entombed in the romantic little Hagley Church within the park, where we went on Sunday. There also repose the ashes of that pattern of a woman and wife, as handed down by the mourning muse of the first Lord Lyttelton, in a monody become classic in English poetry. A beautiful monument to her memory, erected by her husband, is seen in this church; nevertheless they do say he married again soon afterwards, freaks of that nature sometimes coming over men in spite of their woe. Probably you may have "heard of zat before," as our friend the Saxon minister in London used to say in that droll way he had.

But again to the house. This spacious saloon faces the hall, a vestibule interposing. From this two staircases spring, one of oak with a massive hand-rail and balustrades, the other of white stone. Crossing the saloon, you come to the drawing-room, the walls covered with tapestry, the ceiling and other parts fashioned and furnished richly; but it was not used during the more family-like scenes of our Christmas week. From the drawing-room you enter the picture gallery, eighty feet long, but so planned as to destroy

seemed plausible at least, considering the long mystery hanging over their authorship.

the sense of undue length. At the opposite extremity of this gallery a door corresponding to the one by which you enter it from the saloon, conducts you into the dining-room. This completes the suite on the main story, the dining-room bringing you back again to the hall. Thus, in a word, if I have not already tired you out, entering this noble building from the grand steps in front, with their low rise and broad tread, (there is also an entrance through the basement storey,) you get into the beautiful hall. The dining room is on your right; the library to your left; the saloon, which is beyond the vestibule, faces you, and runs back to the northern extremity of the building, its front being south. It is a hundred and fifty-five feet front by eighty-five deep, two lofty stories in height, with four towers rising from the top, one from each corner. The whole is of Portland stone, as I took it to be, so often used for buildings in this country. Now at last I have done with my poor sketch of the house, if you can make anything of it, and must go to something else. I think I hear you say it's high time.

Paintings are seen all over it. I took a note of several from the printed catalogue. Having spoken of one, the *wicked* Lord Lyttelton, as I heard him

called at Hagley, which they can afford to do, as the good who have borne the title so much predominate. I will mention only one more at present, lest my letter should get beyond all bounds. It was the portrait of two brothers, on the main staircase wall, who perished in early life, sons of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, an ancestor of the family. Both were drowned at Oxford, in the Cherwell, on the banks of which are the gardens of Magdalen College, to which both belonged. The youngest fell into the water; the other perished with him in endeavouring to save him. Here was devoted affection fit to be commemorated in a family picture.

I will attempt no description of the grounds or out-door decorations, but refer you to some of the books in our library for an account of them, Try "England Illustrated," in the two old quartos, or "Brewer's England," in two smaller volumes. They will only disappoint you, however, by meagre descriptions, if they give any. The park here, as at Lord Clarendon's, is stocked with deer; but, truly, it was under very different circumstances that I first saw them. Looking from my chamber windows when I first rose, on the morning after my arrival, I saw a large collection of them stalking slowly about on the

lawn: some stood gazing; others would thrust their noses deep into the snow. I understood they did this to get at the grass, their breath melting the snow a little, so that they could nibble it. I had also in view from my windows an obelisk and a Grecian temple that adorn the grounds, both loaded with snow and looking beautifully white.

But the part you will be waiting to hear more of, I am now to come to. How did we get on during a week of almost total confinement to the house? What did we do? Where did we ramble within its walls? what occupations had we, what amusements besides billiards and books? Did we not, in spite of what was so pretty all around, inside and out, fall into *hum-drum-ism* now and then? I think I hear you say, "Inform me of this: I am all impatience to hear; tell me all."

Within limits, I will. A little has dropped out already; but I will make a fresh start by making you better acquainted with Lord and Lady Lyttelton, better than I knew them myself hitherto.

Lord L. has the capabilities for entertaining his friends which a sprightly mind, and the best intercourse long enjoyed, are fitted to give. When first we knew him, you will remember, he was in the

House of Commons, as Mr. Lyttelton. Now, he is in the House of Lords, of course, though seldom attends. He was all in all when able to be with us; but this, I am sorry to say, was not the case every day, from the state of his health, although his desire to be with us kept him up at times when he was scarcely able to be out of his room.

Lady Lyttelton was consequently the more called upon to dispense in all ways the hospitalities of the scene. I thought I knew her formerly, but found I did not know the half: ample cultivation, without seeming conscious of it; conversation to charm all; a quick eye and attentive ear among her guests, forgetting none; a winning ease and self-possession—so it is I would imperfectly tell you of the qualities and accomplishments implanted and trained in her. Her manners are natural, and you see that they are derived from home. They are of the kind inculcated by the descendants of the Calverts, Carrolls, and others from the stock of those first Cavalier emigrants who arrived at the ancient little colonial capital of your little state of Maryland, and brought over good manners with liberty and toleration. In doing the honours of the house, she had therefore to put on no unusual courtesy, or it would not have been what it

was, the habit of good breeding at home passing naturally into society. You know how often we have recalled that first dinner we had with them in Saville-Row, her father, Earl Spencer, Sir Humphry Davy, Lady Davy, Miss Fanshawe, and others, forming the party. And what sprightliness of conversation, to which she so much contributed, had we not on that occasion! We thought it one to be remembered, even in the great dinner-giving world of London, where they can always make up dinner-parties without bringing together uncongenial guests, from the abundant numbers to choose from in their cultivated circles, which seem almost endless. This was some twenty years ago, when she was scarcely more than beginning life, blooming and beautiful. Now her sphere is greatly enlarged; and most happily does she meet its every call upon her.

Many calls there were throughout such an establishment during such a week. Among them, she became "domestic chaplain." Lord Lyttelton, she said, had commissioned her for that office, being too unwell to read the prayers himself. Every morning, at half-past nine, she read them. Those able to come down at that time, as I believe all did, attended; as did the servants, upper and lower, men and women.

These all entered, arranging themselves opposite the family and guests. This morning the assemblage was in the saloon, the full-length family pictures looking down upon us, "wicked" Lord Lyttelton's among the rest (pray pardon me, but the contrast was almost enough to start irreverent thoughts). One sentence in the prayer ran thus: "Teach us to be just to those dependent upon us, and kind to our friends." The words touched us the more from the soft tones of her voice. You will remember similar habits at Lord Bexley's country home in Kent when we were staying there; though no picture of a wicked ancestor was there to be looking down upon us. [Lord Lyttelton died soon after the Author's visit. On a preceding page of this volume, "Court of London," the Author has borne marked testimony to the high qualities which led, shortly afterwards, to the selection of Lady Lyttelton to superintend the early education of the children of the Queen.—ED.]

At ten o'clock we went to breakfast; and nowhere could her attentions to her guests have been better seen. What seemed best to say to each, followed her morning salutation to each. At two o'clock we had lunch. On Christmas day, a boar's head and a genuine old English Christmas pie, were served up

at it. The dinner hour was half-past six. When announced, we crossed the hall, two and two, from the library, where all had then collected, into the dining-room; the latter brilliant with light, paintings, and the table plate, the entire first service, plates and all, being of silver, so common in these classes that I remember your once saying it was the *absence* of it you began to miss; porcelain being seen in the after-courses. A couple of hours, more or less, spent at table, the time depending on the turn conversation took, and this was little apt to flag, especially when Lord L. was well enough to be with us, all returned to the library.

A word about wine. Old Falernian was among the varieties on one of the days. One of the company being tempted to take a third glass of it, another remarked that the rule in such cases was, that he must take a fourth or quote Horace; whereupon the offender paid the penalty, exclaiming, *Jam satis terris nivis*;—in plain English, there had been snow enough, in all conscience, at Hagley that week. We had no dissertation on wines, save what was said of Falernian.

Back again in the library, coffee was first handed. Tea came an hour or so afterwards. Then we had the piano, harp, conversation, badinage,—anything.

At eleven or later, some lingering till past midnight, we began to move off for our chambers.

Now a precious little *morceau* for you. On one of the evenings Miss Lyttelton, as if she had seen into my heart, struck up upon her harp the dirge to Louis the Sixteenth composed after he was beheaded. Don't you remember when Bee, of South Carolina, used to play it for us on the piano, at Miss Boardley's in Philadelphia, in days of yore? You have probably not heard it since. It took me by surprise. You cannot imagine the memories it awakened. Night after night, as long as I stayed, I called for it; and never shall I hear it again without thinking of the harp at Hagley.

Tell me, now, would you not rather have been here, such nights as these, than back again at any of the Court entertainments at Carlton House, or Buckingham Palace, in the magnificent days of George IV.? All agree that he was great at coronations, dress-balls, and such things, but the nights at Hagley, I ween, would have borne off the palm, in your eyes.

I run on from one thing to another, but shall have enough left to talk about when I get home. I cannot think of all now, or take time to write all; but must not omit to say that the good work of relieving the

poor of the neighbourhood was not overlooked by the inmates of this attractive abode, when winter was howling, and their guests enjoying good cheer and warm fires under its roof.

The unpretending way in which they speak of it, whenever its beauties are alluded to by others, struck me. You might think they consider themselves as no more than plainly established in a simple country residence in Worcestershire. England, old as she is, continues to improve on the past. Where she is to stop, would be hard to say; but comparing her condition when we first arrived, with all that I see now of increase, I should think that her meridian is still a good way off. It may be that the Lytteltons, familiar with estates and mansions which wealth and art have been embellishing throughout ages, but which their permanent owners go on to cultivate and adorn, are less awake than strangers to the beauties of their own Hagley. At any rate, they show good sense in not talking of them, others perceiving them none the less. Long ownership takes away boast. Those, it has been said, shaded by the foliage of their old trees, have no need to talk of the roots. In size and costliness, the house and estate at Hagley are doubtless surpassed by many others; but for diversified forms

of rural beauty throughout the grounds, hills, slopes, gardens, streamlets, avenues, where art seems to vie with nature for superiority, the well-informed in these matters think it would not be easy to point out places in England that excel Hagley. It may well claim to rank among what Mrs. Hemans calls "The Stately Homes of England." [All remember Washington Irving's beautiful description of rural scenery in England. Writing to the Author in 1820, he says: "As to the article on rural life (in the Sketch Book,) though the result of general impressions received in various excursions about England, yet it was sketched in the vicinity of Hagley, just after I had been rambling about its grounds, and whilst its beautiful scenery and that of the neighbourhood were fresh in my recollection."—ED.]

A ruin was built by the first Lord Lyttelton near one of the boundaries, to make the prospect in that part more picturesque. Before the week ended, I walked through the snow to see it, with the Vicar of Hagley and Harry as my companions. The former pointed out Pope's monument, Milton's seat, and Thomson's, as well-known spots at Hagley, which the weather prevented our seeing before; also grottoes, now glittering with icicles, and superb old oaks and

elms. The ruin had the appearance of an old edifice or castle fallen to pieces under the hand of time. Ivy grew thick on its apparently ancient walls and mouldering fragments. Fit abode they seemed for the "moping owl." From this artificial ruin, the eye sweeps over a wide expanse of country highly improved. I wish I had seen it in the glories of spring or summer; yet the winter prospect told upon the fancy and feelings. Clad in snowy white, mansions, hedges of evergreen, churches, spires, came out distinctly enough to reveal a most beautiful landscape. As we stood looking at it, we called up lines from the poets, arraying the wintry scene in verse. It was on a week-day. Otherwise we might have heard the sound of church-bells in the distance. Such sounds I did hear afterwards near Stoney Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, where we were detained a short time on the road by the snow, the day I was returning to London. I had walked on in advance with some of the passengers, and as I leaned over a bridge, waiting for the coach to come up, intermingling chimes from the turrets of three ancient towns in view, stole into my ear through the stillness of a cold Sunday morning. Shakespeare somewhere alludes to the humanizing effect of such sounds. You can look up

the passage, as I know how you like to turn to him.

The Lyttelton family was ancient in Worcestershire before the first Lord Lyttelton, known as statesman, author and poet, was created a peer. Among its archives are some curious autograph letters; one, for instance, of condolence from Queen Elizabeth to a maternal ancestor of the family, on a death that occurred in it. It was folded up like a "cock'd hat," as we used to say when sometimes receiving notes twisted into that shape from octogenarians of the West-End of London. Another of the autographs was from Charles II. to Sir Henry Lyttelton, dated Brussels, January the 8th, 1660, thanking him for his friendship, and that of his relations in Worcestershire, when the Stuarts were in trouble. This shire is somewhat historical in reference to that period, to say nothing of the battle of Worcester, where Cromwell so completely routed the King's forces. Mr. Clive once mentioned at dinner that the family of the Penderills, descendants of those four sturdy brothers mentioned by Hume, have a small allowance charged on each of the ecclesiastical livings of the shire (as I understood him) which they still receive in the light of a pension, for their services to Charles when he

was an outcast and a wanderer in those parts. Lord Dartmouth said, on the same occasion, that one of Lord Bagot's family was married to a descendant of the Mrs. Lane, also mentioned by Hume as so faithful to fallen royalty. And it was stated that the oak which saved Charles stands not very far from Hagley; or rather what was the oak; for the old tree is gone, a fresh one growing round its root, surrounded by an iron palisade. It was mentioned in this connection that Charles, in honour of that tree, contemplated the introduction of a new order into England, to be called the "order of the royal oak;" but it came to nothing; the best fate it could have had, as sensible people would now say, I suppose. Charles once, in his woe-begone state, speaking of the tree that saved him, is said to have mournfully ejaculated, (if *ever* that merry king was mournful in anything,) "As I cannot have a hole with foxes in the earth, I must seek a retreat with the birds upon the trees." The ancient homestead of the Lytteltons stood near the site of the present mansion, but was burnt down during the devastations of that era.

I came across a literary curiosity during the visit. Peering through the bookcases one evening, a small volume, old, and in plain binding, met my eye. I

took it down; and what should it be but the original edition of Thomson's Seasons, much thumbed? Glancing at the pages, I perceived marginal notes in writing, made, I was told, by the first Lord Lyttelton. Thomson was then a favourite visitor at Hagley. I asked permission to take it to my chamber. There, in gown and slippers, before the fire, I enjoyed, until past midnight, that charming poet, and thinking that perhaps he might have had the very chamber I was in. The marginal notes were curious. I copied some of them roughly in pencil to send to you, but learning that no publication of any of them had ever been made by the family, I would not risk sending them, lest of some mischance to the letter, so burnt them; but you shall hear of them when I come home.

With the mention again of the first Lord Lyttelton, let me add that my kind friend presented me, on coming away, with a copy of his works in three volumes. To Harry he gave a miniature edition of Virgil, a *bijou* from its size. Let me further say of my hospitable friend, in this connection, that while at Oxford he made his mark for skill in the classics, and has kept up his taste for them.

At last I must begin to think of bringing this long

letter to a close; but as it was put off a good while, I seemed the more bound to eke it out to what you see; and well do I know that it is to come under eyes that will willingly read all I write while absent, no matter in what rambling ways.

Finally, I must tell you of the inquiries about you. Lady Lyttelton made them most kindly, as did Lord L., of course. Lord Dartmouth had not forgotten you. He reminded me of having met you at dinner at Lord Bagot's soon after our arrival, and made obliging reference to the occasion. You will remember that dinner, I am sure; but there will be no harm in freshening up to you an incident at it. It will make my letter but a very little longer, and brings up Lord Palmerston, now Foreign Secretary here, and growing in fame. He was then Secretary of War, which was not a Cabinet post at that day. An attempt had been made to assassinate him by a dismissed army-lieutenant, and the event was talked of at table. He was wounded; but sufficient time had not elapsed for it to be known if the wound would prove mortal. Whereupon one of the company (you know who) gravely avowed his readiness, should Lord Palmerston die, and the assassin escape hanging on the plea of insanity, to *hang up one of his relatives in his stead!*

The idea was playfully handled, but received no quarter, notwithstanding that the gentleman who started it was full of precedents from French history to help it along. The anecdote may perhaps revive in you other souvenirs of that dinner; as, for example, the mode of announcement of *some* of the personages among the evening company as they entered the drawing-room.

I fancy it will not be soon that you will have another letter as long as this, for it is not always that I shall have Hagley and its scenes to write about. Lord Dartmouth invited me to go over to Sandwell Park, and make him a visit while the holidays last, as he expects friends; but I had to decline, for I am anxious to hasten back to London, to watch the Court of Chancery, from which that precious Smithsonian fund for the United States is to come. As yet I have been able to do little more than make a beginning in the work; and if I do not follow it up, I might perchance have to spend another seven years in England, as when you were here. I flatter myself Sydenham would rebel against this, in which feeling I send to you all my affectionate adieus.

R. R.

LETTER TO MRS. RUSH.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE THRONE.

CLOSE OF CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES IN ENGLAND.—REMARK OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AFTER THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.—WASHINGTON, JACKSON, AND THE DUKE.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S.—PREMATURE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DEATH OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH.—CONVERSATION IN ANTICIPATION OF THE PROBABLE EVENT.—THE PRINCESS VICTORIA: HER CAREFUL EDUCATION.—DINNER AT LORD CLARENDON'S.—DEATH OF THE KING.—LORD CLARENDON'S NARRATIVE ON RETURNING FROM KENSINGTON PALACE.—MEETING OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON THE DEMISE OF THE CROWN.—THE YOUTHFUL PRINCESS APPEARS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND TAKES THE OATH AS SOVEREIGN OF THE REALM.—CEREMONIES.—THE YOUNG QUEEN'S BEARING AND DISCRETION.—DINNER-TABLE PLEASANTRIES IN REFERENCE TO THE ENGLISH THRONE AND THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.—DIFFERENT WAYS OF REACHING EACH.—A CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION NOT YET RAISED IN THE UNITED STATES.—ENGLISH LOYALTY.—CONCLUSION.

LONDON, June 21, 1837.

MY DEAR WIFE:

Not long after my letter in December describing my visit to Grove Park, Lord Clarendon

came to town. The festivities in England in the country at Christmas, begin to draw to a close after Twelfth Night, as you know. The members of Parliament generally come back to London from their country homes on the assembling of the two houses in February, except those who choose to remain longer to indulge in rural sports or for any other reason. Lord C., not being of these for the present season at least, came to town in good time; and more than once I have again found myself at his table in his ancient looking town house, North Audley Street, as in days of yore when we first knew him as Mr. Villiers.

I was about to tell you of a dinner there a few weeks ago, chiefly for the sake of what was said of Washington and General Jackson, in connection with the Duke of Wellington. Our hospitable entertainer, in speaking of the Duke, said, that after the battle of Waterloo, he, the Duke, dined with Lord Fitzroy Somerset, one of his aids, in Brussels; Lady Fitzroy Somerset, who is connected with the Bagots, as the Duke also is, being at that time indisposed in Brussels.* When the crowning victory

* Lord Fitzroy Somerset was long and closely connected with the Duke of Wellington. He lost an arm in battle whilst his aide.

just won over Napoleon was dwelt on with joy, the Duke's eyes were seen to be moistened with tears; and he said that the next painful thing in war after being defeated was to gain a victory, from the number of the killed among those you loved. Lord C. here added, that three men renowned for success in war, Washington, Jackson, and the Duke, had each inculcated upon their respective nations the maxims of peace, and each within his sphere endeavoured to maintain it.

I intended to write to you about this and other things that passed on that occasion, from your acquaintance with several of the names at table; but interruptions that came upon me thwarted my intention.

But to-day I will write you some account of what passed at dinner there yesterday, lest anything should chance to thwart my purpose this time, or delay it; for now I am to tell you of something that does not happen here every day, namely, the death of the King, and a new sovereign ascending the throne.

To give it in the connection in which I had it, I

He afterwards, as Lord Raglan, commanded the British force sent to the Crimea in 1854.

must mention that I dined at the Marquis of Lansdowne's the day preceding, with a somewhat large company. The guests, as they successively arrived, among whom were the Archbishop of York and others of distinction, were full of the announcement, which a second edition of some of the evening papers contained, of the King's death; but Lord Lansdowne, as President of the council of ministers, was able to contradict it, having the latest intelligence by express from Windsor. He said, however, that the event might be looked for every hour, the King being extremely ill, and the physicians considering a recovery hopeless. The conversation, in anticipation of the event, became engrossing. The steps to invest the young Princess Victoria with the regal power; the novelty of the occasion; the fact that more than a century had elapsed since a female reign in England; the careful training the young Princess had been going through; the assiduity with which it was stated she had attended to her studies, under the best direction, for understanding her constitutional duties; all this, with more bearing upon a female reign, imparted to the conversation, in which peers and commoners joined, unusual interest.

Yesterday, at Lord Clarendon's, we had the subject

in hand, not as an anticipation, but a reality. The King died at three o'clock yesterday morning. Our dinner-party this second day was small and friendly, consisting mainly of those allied in one way or another by marriage; the Earl and Countess of Surrey, the Countess of Grosvenor, the Duchess Countess of Sutherland, a son of Lord Surrey, and two other young gentlemen, with Lord and Lady Clarendon, making the whole. Most of these you know.

Lord Clarendon, as a Privy Councillor, had been to Kensington Palace, the residence of the Princess Victoria, where the Privy Council were assembled on the *demise* of the crown, as the legal term is; for although the King, as a mortal man, must die, the kingly office continues for the next lawful heir to step into, whether man or woman. He was there nearly all the morning, to bear his part in the ceremony of the crown's passing from one person to another; and to his narrative, fresh from the scene, we all listened, as you may imagine, from curiosity if no other feeling.

The Lord President (Lord Lansdowne) announced to the Council that they had met on the occasion of the demise of the crown; then, with some others of

the body, including the Premier, he left the council for a short time, when all returned with the young Princess. She entered leaning upon the arm of her uncle, the Duke of Sussex. The latter had not before been in the council room, but resides in the same Palace, and had been with the Princess in an adjoining apartment. He conducted her to a chair at the head of the Council. A short time after she took her seat, she read the declaration which the sovereign makes on coming to the throne, and took the oath to govern the realm according to law, and cause justice to be executed in mercy.

The members of the Council then successively kneeled, one knee bending, and kissed the young Queen's hand as she extended it to each; for now she was the veritable Queen of England. Lord C. described the whole ceremony as performed in a very appropriate and graceful manner by the young Lady. Some timidity was discernible at first, as she came into the room in presence of the Cabinet and Privy Councillors; but it disappeared soon, and a becoming self-possession took its place. He noticed her discretion in not talking, except as the business of the ceremonial made it proper, and confining herself chiefly when she spoke, to Lord Melbourne, as official

head of the ministry, and her uncle the Duke of Sussex.

This is the substance of what he related. I do not repeat all, for his words were apt; and in such a matter, it is better I should be sparing in what I say, lest I might misquote him. Occasional questions were thrown in by the company. I did nothing but listen, as the sole stranger present. All seemed glad to be dining there by chance on the day of the event. We heard all about it before it could get into the newspapers; a rare thing in England, Lord C. having come almost immediately from the Palace to greet his friends expected at this dinner.

But before it was all over, I was drawn in, whether or not, to say a little in turn. The important points of the story of the day told, and the dessert course finished, our accomplished host, addressing himself to me, with his mild expression of countenance tinged with archness, blandly remarked, "How sadly you in your country have departed from the example of your good old English stock!" "How?" I asked. "How?" he replied: "why, could you elect a Lady, President of the United States?" This was something of a posing question under the event and topics of the day. I sheltered myself by saying it was a

constitutional question we had not yet raised. "Ah," he said, "you *know* you could not; but we in Old England can now call up the classic days of our good Queen Anne, and the glories of Elizabeth; but as for *you*, you are in love with that Salic law—you will have none but men to rule over you; no lady, however beautiful or accomplished, can you ever put at the head of your nation, degenerate race that you have become!" It was so he pushed me. I parried his thrusts as well as I could. Then he varied the attack. "And what a hubbub you made for a year before electing Mr. Van Buren President! See how quietly a Queen comes to our throne; walk the streets, and you would not know of a change: to-morrow will be as yesterday, except that everybody will have a joyous face at the thoughts of a young Queen. We shall all be proud to look up to her; honoured when allowed to kiss her fair hand at the drawing room; happy even to have our ears boxed if we deserve it!" It was so he went on in a vein of badinage. The occasion was not one for political dissertation. I stuck to my country by saying, that if we could not elect a Lady, President, I hoped we should have credit for keeping up the character of our English descent by doing pretty well in other

things on our continent. None of the company dissented from this; least of all Lord Clarendon himself, who had been running me so hard, though so playfully. And thus passed off this pleasant little dinner-party and talk about Queens and Presidents. Here I must end the present letter, thinking this one subject enough just now.

Hoping it may find all well at home, and barely adding that I follow up the Smithsonian Legacy in a way that I hope may induce the Chancery lawyers to make an end of the business the sooner, if only to get rid of my teasing,

I remain as ever yours,

R. R.

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Sed nobis ingens INDICIS auxilium est.

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